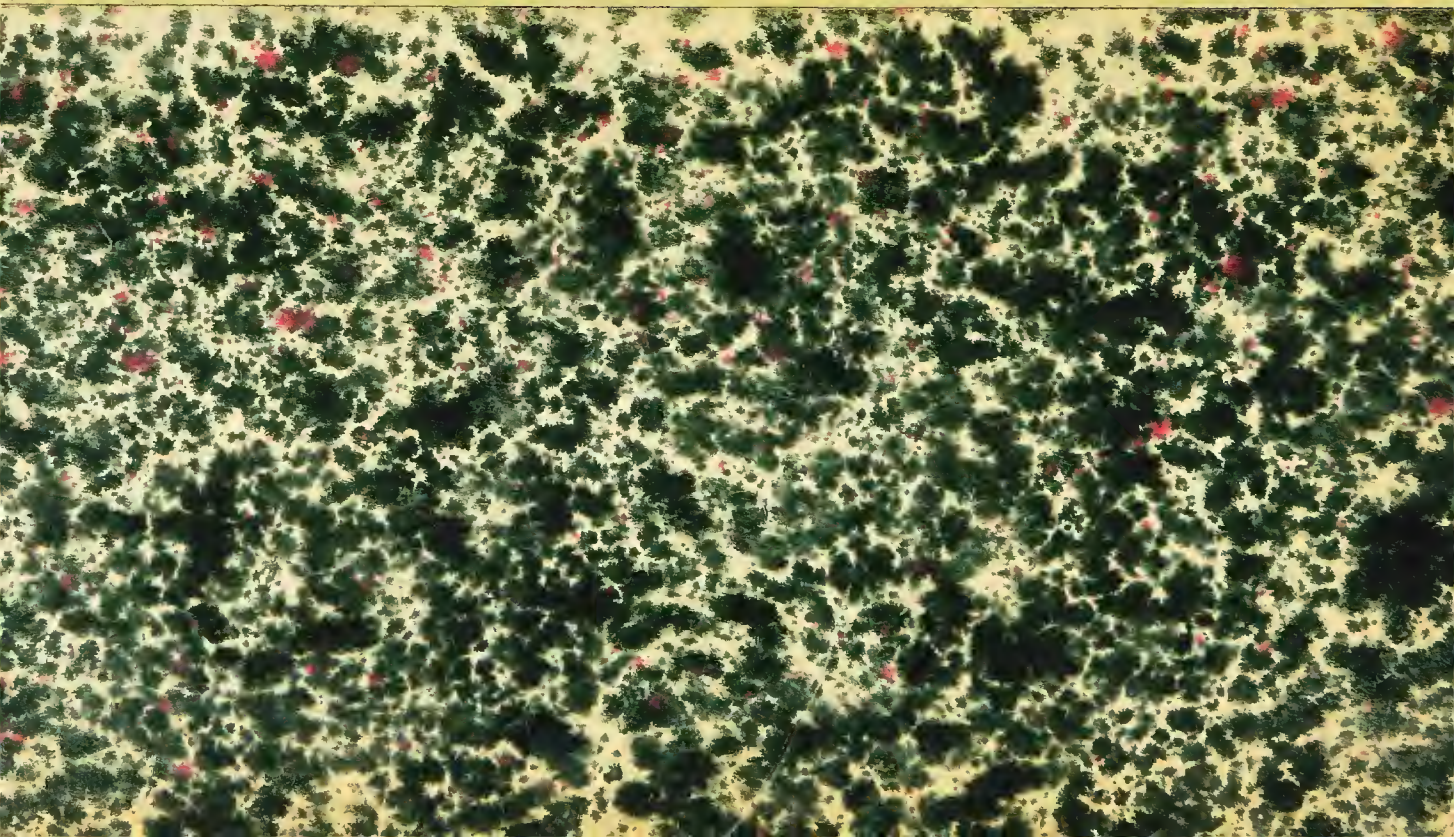

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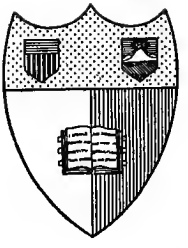

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EGYPTIAN DELEGATION TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE

COLLECTION OF

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

FROM NOVEMBER 11, 1918
TO JULY 14, 1919

TWELVE APPENDICES

CONTAINING

VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTIONS OF OFFICIAL EGYPTIAN REPORTS, CORRESPONDENCE, DEPOSITIONS OF VICTIMS AND EYE-WITNESS, AND PHOTOGRAPHS OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY BRITISH TROOPS IN EGYPT

PARIS, 1919
PUBLISHED BY THE DELEGATION

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PARIS, 1919
PUBLISHED BY THE DELEGATION

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FOREWORD

Our case is in the documents presented in this volume. We publish the correspondence between Rushdi Pasha, President of the Egyptian Council of Ministers, and his Highness the Sultan; between the Egyptian Delegation and the Foreign Diplomatic Representatives in Egypt, the foreigners resident in Egypt, the British Authorities in Egypt and England, the British House of Commons, the President of the United States, the American Senate, and the Peace Conference, through its president, M. Georges Clemenceau. We publish also evidence, supported by extracts from official records, affidavits, and photographs, of the atrocities committed against the unarmed Egyptian people by the British army of occupation. Names of those testifying are given, from High Judges and Governors of Provinces to simple peasants.

The correspondence is all on one side. We have knocked at door after door, but have received no answer. In spite of the definite pledges given by the statesmen at the head of the nations which won the war, to the effect that their victory would mean the triumph of Right over Might and the establishment of the principle of self-determination for small nations, the British Protectorate over Egypt was written into the Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain without the people of Egypt being consulted as to their political status.

This crime against our nation, a breach of good faith

on the part of the Powers who have declared that they are forming in the same treaty a Society of Nations, will not be consummated without a solemn warning that the people of Egypt consider the decision taken at Paris null and void. Even though not upheld by those who proclaimed them, we believe in the principles of justice and liberty and democracy. We believe that Right goes before Might. We believe in the final triumph of immanent justice.

So we put our case before all who believe with us that the small and the weak have rights, and who desire to see the establishment of a durable peace, as the only result justifying the sacrifices of five years of war. We have faith that our voice will be heard, especially in Great Britain. If our voice is not heard, it will be only because the blood already shed has not been enough to overthrow the old world order and give birth to a new world order.

For the Egyptian Delegation,

SAAD ZAGLOUL,

President.

4 Avenue Malakoff,
Paris.
September 15, 1919.

HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN

1. Letter, dated Cairo, December 23, 1918, addressed to his Highness the Sultan by Rushdi Pasha, President of the Council of Ministers.

2. Letter, dated Cairo, December 30, 1918, addressed to his Highness the Sultan by Rushdi Pasha.

LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN

CAIRO, December 23, 1918.

Highness:

On November 13, 1908, I sent to your Highness the following report:

One event is following another in quick succession. Peace negotiations are going to begin. All the questions that have arisen on account of the war are going to be decided upon. It is of the highest interest that the views of your Highness and those of his Government on the political future of Egypt be directly presented to the Government of his Britannic Majesty. I suggest that your Highness entrust this mission to me and to my colleague, Adly Pasha.

With the approval of your Highness, I communicated this report to the British Government through his Excellency the High Commissioner.

The response that I received led me to hand in my resignation in these words:

In assuming before my conscience, before my country and before history the responsibility of heading the Cabinet under the new régime, I made the express stipulation to demand for Egypt, from the British Government, the greatest possible liberty, when negotiations for peace would open.

To-day, the Peace Conference is going to meet. With the approval of your Highness, I have asked the British Government to give me a hearing.

I received a response that was equivalent to saying: "Later—after peace is signed."

I believe, on the contrary, that now is the moment to present and plead for the national aspirations of Egypt.

Under these circumstances, I have the honor of presenting to your Highness my resignation as President of the Council of Ministers and as Minister of the Interior. My colleague, Adly Yeghen Pasha, who had been appointed by your Highness to accompany me on my mission, desires to associate himself with me in taking this step. He presents individually his resignation as Minister of Public Instruction.

Your Highness was asked to postpone the acceptance of our resignation until the matter had been referred to London. The new answer was only a confirmation of the first.

I cannot withdraw my resignation. For since then, no official communication has come; there have been only unofficial conversations which have ended in no result.

In the meantime, deputations composed of members of our representative institutions have asked permission to go to London to plead the cause of Egypt. I have advised that they be allowed to go and that they be heard. Not only has my advice been ignored, but the British authorities have refused even to grant me a hearing to discuss what should eventually be the status of the Protectorate.

Egypt is thus going to be the only country which will not have been able to make its voice heard at the moment when its future is going to be definitely settled.

Under these circumstances, I desire to become free again. In consequence, I respectfully insist that your Highness accept my resignation.

Of your Highness, the very humble, very faithful and very devoted servant.

(Signed) H. Rushdi.

(Rushdi Pasha received no answer to this letter.)

LETTER ADDRESSED TO HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN

CAIRO, December 30, 1918.

Highness:

The delay in accepting my resignation risks ending in making me accept the responsibility that I have wished and that I wish at all price to avoid: that of being Prime Minister of Egypt and of disinteresting myself, however, in its fate at the moment when it is going to be definitely decided.

I beg your Highness to accept, without further delay, the aforesaid resignation, which, in order to cut short all new dilatory tactics, I declare irrevocable. It is no longer possible to negotiate about my resignation. The only thing left to do now is to form a new Cabinet.

Of your Highness, the very humble, the very faithful and the very devoted servant.

(Signed) H. RUSHDI.

(Rushdi Pasha's resignation was not accepted until March 3rd. During the first two months of 1919, he received no written answer, and the final acceptance was verbal.)

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POWERS IN EGYPT AND FOREIGNERS RESIDING IN EGYPT

1. Appeal to the Representatives of the nations that have diplomatic relations with Egypt, dated Cairo, Deeember 6, 1918, and aeeompanied by a brief statement of the national aspirations of Egypt as formulated into a program under six heads by the Delegation. (After the arrest and deportation of the President of the Delegation, Saad Pasha Zagloul, and three of their colleagues, the Delegation addressed a second appeal to the Representatives aecredited at Cairo by the Powers, dated April 4, 1919.)

2. Appeal to foreigners residing in Egypt, dated Cairo, January 11, 1919, and signed by the members of the Delegation.

APPEAL TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATIONS THAT HAVE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT

On December 6, 1918, Saad Zagloul Pasha sent a letter to the diplomatic agent of every Power, worded as follows:

In the name of the Egyptian Delegation, charged with the defense of the interests of Egypt, I have the honor of addressing herewith to your Excellency a note of protest as well as a brief statement of the desires of Egypt in regard to her political future. The delegation is convinced that it interprets the unanimous wish of the country in begging your Excellency to bring these documents to the knowledge of your Government.

The Appeal to the nations having diplomatic relations with Egypt set forth the history of the four weeks that had followed the armistice, explained how the delegation had been formed, and protested against the fact that Egypt alone of all nations was being prevented, by the action of the local Authorities, from making representations either to the British Government directly or to the Peace Conference that was about to assemble. This document, dated Cairo, December 6, 1918, was signed by the members of the Delegation.

The brief statement of the desires of Egypt in regard to her political future, summed up the policy of the Delegation in six paragraphs as follows:

I

Egypt demands her independence:

a. Because it is the natural right of nations;

b. Because Egypt has never ceased to demand her independence, even at the price of the blood of her children. Her victories would have permitted her to establish her sovereignty, if the concert of the Great Powers, in 1840–1841, had not compelled her to reduce her pretensions to the minimum and to content herself with a large autonomy which was practically independence;

c. Because she considers herself now freed from the last bond of suzerainty which attached her to Turkey, that country being no more in a position, as a result of the war, to maintain that suzerainty:

d. Because she believes that the moment has come for her to proclaim a sovereignty which is justified by her ethic conditions and her material and moral situation.

II

Egypt means to have a constitutional government; the form of the régime will take into account the peculiar situation of the country in regard to foreign interests. Economic, administrative and social reforms will be undertaken, for the success of which the country will not fail, as in the past, to appeal for help to the nations of the Occident.

III

Egypt proclaims that the privileges of foreigners will be scrupulously respected, and, if practice is able to show that certain of them are susceptible of a better re-

adjustment, she will propose in a broad and sincere and sympathetic spirit modifications of a kind to assure the progress of the country and to safeguard all the interests involved.

IV

Egypt promises to examine the establishment of measures of financial control whose efficiency will not be inferior to that of the measures of the period before the agreement of 1904, and whose essential organ will continue to be the Caisse de la Dette Publique.

V

Egypt is disposed to accept every measure that the Powers will judge useful for safeguarding the neutrality of the Suez Canal.

VI

Egypt would consider herself highly honored to place her independence under the guarantee of the Society of Nations, and to contribute thus, in the measure of her means, to the realization of the new ideas of Justice and of Right.

On April 4, 1919, after the arrest and deportation to Malta of the President of the Delegation and three of their colleagues, and before permission was granted to leave for Europe, the Delegation addressed to the Diplomatic Agents of the Powers a second appeal and protest, which was signed by Aly Chaaraoui, Vice-President of the Delegation and Member of the Legislative Assembly.

APPEAL TO FOREIGNERS RESIDING IN EGYPT

CAIRO, January 11, 1919.

The World War has just terminated in the only way that could satisfy the interests at stake—in the opportunity of founding a régime of right and justice and in substituting that régime, for the solution of international conflicts, for the right of the strongest. On such a foundation it is possible to obtain a durable peace, because we shall see the end of the armed rivalry of yesterday and the establishment of peaceful and legal rivalry.

This peace of right and of justice will cause to disappear at the same time, the bitterness and hatred stored up in the hearts of the small races against the domination, by brutal force, of the Great Powers. And hereafter will be abolished the colonial rivalry which incited the Great Powers to monopolize—to the detriment of each other—political advantages and trading benefits. In this new order, commercial prosperity will depend only upon natural factors, political considerations and armed constraint having been abandoned.

Egypt believed that the hour of imminent justice had arrived for her as well as for other countries, when the

victory was won, and that she could hope for the end of a slavery imposed solely by force, and that she, too, could enter into the world wide brotherhood of nations. To accomplish this, she has given to the Delegation over which I have the honor to preside the mandate to ask for and endeavor to obtain her complete independence by every legal and peaceful means.

The obstacles encountered from the very first hour—the seizure of a part of the mandates sent to us by the people and the refusal of passports for England—have not discouraged us in our determination to accomplish the mission with which we have been charged. On the contrary, this Delegation has protested officially against this denial of the rights of personal liberty to the highest British authorities and to the representatives of the Powers accredited to Egypt.

The Egyptian Delegation, after having presented to the representatives of the Powers a statement of the essential points of our programme, believes that it is its duty to put before all foreigners residing in our country and having interests here the assurance that our movement is peaceful and legal and the exposition of our national aspirations. It is our ambition to enlist, for the success of our cause, the aid of the free citizens of all countries who are not indifferent to the emancipation of small nations and who, from their own statements during the war, place above all considerations of interest and sentiment the principles of right, of justice, of liberty.

That is why we, who are the faithful mandatories of the will of Egypt, affirm our aspirations for independence—

an independence that will permit our country to attain its ideal of progress and to reconstitute its ancient and glorious patrimony.

We desire complete independence, exclusive of all foreign domination, in order that, under a constitutional régime, we may correct the wrongs that the government of a foreign Power has caused to our society, whether deliberately, whether by the nature even of the interference.

We desire to keep the confidence of the foreign residents and to facilitate to them the pursuit of their commercial, industrial and intellectual activity with full respect for their privileges.

We desire complete independence, but not affecting the capitulatory rights of the foreigners, whether it be in the matter of legislation or mixed tribunals, whether it be in the matter of inviolability of their domiciles or of individual liberty.

We desire to broaden our law of naturalization in the most liberal sense so that the entry into the Egyptian national family will be made possible for all who wish to cast in their fortunes with us.

In the name of the Egyptian Delegation, I assure to all foreigners residing in this country that this Delegation is in complete harmony with all efforts made by them to obtain the independence and the respect of the rights of foreigners.

I take this opportunity to invoke the testimony of all who are imbued with a love of liberty in regard to the measures contrary to liberty of which our Delegation is the victim. I declare that all decisions about the future of our country, that may be taken without hearing the

Egyptians, will be in direct opposition to the rules of right and the principles of justice upon which the deliberations of Peace Conference are announced to be based.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,
Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly
and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN EGYPT AND IN ENGLAND

1. Letter, dated Cairo, November 29, 1918, addressed by the Delegation to Sir F. Reginald Wingate, British High Commissioner.

2. Letter, dated Cairo, December 1, 1918, addressed by Secretary to Sir F. Reginald Wingate to Zagloul Pasha.

3. Letter, dated Cairo, December 3, 1918, addressed by the Delegation to Sir F. Reginald Wingate.

4. Telegram, dated Cairo, December 4, 1918, addressed by the Delegation to Mr. Lloyd George, British Premier.

5. Letter, dated Cairo, January 12, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to Mr. Lloyd George.

6. Report, presented by the Egyptian Delegation, on March 29, 1919, in Cairo, to General Sir Edmund Allenby, British High Commissioner, at the High Commissioner's request.

7. Letter, dated Paris, July 14, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to the Members of the House of Commons.

TO SIR F. REGINALD WINGATE

Cairo, November 29, 1918.

His Excellency, Sir F. Reginald Wingate,
High Commissioner of H. B. M.

Excellency:

I beg to inform your Excellency that a deputation having been formed under my Presidency to go to England to confer with the British authorities on the subject of the future of Egypt, I addressed to British General Headquarters on the 20th inst. a letter in which I requested for my colleagues and for myself the permission necessary for the voyage.

The military authorities answered on the following day that our demand would be examined as quickly as possible.

The mission we have undertaken requires our presence at London. Therefore, we wrote yesterday to ask for an early decision in regard to our request. We have just received a letter from the military authorities, dated to-day, informing us that difficulties have arisen which have prevented them from responding before, and that as soon as they are smoothed out, we shall receive an answer.

Since it is essential that our Deputation be in London before the last week in December, we beg your Excellency to use his good offices with the military au-

thorities in order to have our passports for the voyage delivered to us as soon as possible and in time to reach London before the end of the year.

We rely upon the traditions of Great Britain. The British have not ceased to give to the world examples of their devotion to the principles of individual liberty. Will not our request for passports receive a quick and favorable response?

In the hope of hearing from you promptly and favorably, I beg your Excellency to accept the assurance of my esteem.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul.

TO ZAGLOUL PASHA

CAIRO, December 1, 1918.

Dear Zagloul Pasha:

I am directed by his Excellency the High Commissioner to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 29th ult. and to inform you, in reply, that after reference to His Majesty's Government, his Excellency feels unable to make any representations to the Military Authorities in the matter.

I am to add that should you desire to submit suggestions as to the Government of Egypt not being inconsistent with the policy of His Majesty's Government as already declared—such suggestions can most conveniently be submitted in writing to his Excellency. In this connection I may draw your attention to the communication addressed by Sir Milne Cheetham,[1] by instruction of His Majesty's Government, to the late Sultan Hussein on the occasion of his accession.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) G. S. SYMES,
Private Secretary.

[1] Proclamation of the Protectorate by the British Government, December 18, 1914.

TO SIR F. REGINALD WINGATE

Cairo, December 3, 1918.

His Excellency, Sir F. Reginald Wingate,
High Commissioner of His Britannic Majesty.

Excellency:

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's letter of December 1, written to me by your private secretary in answer to mine of November 29th, dealing with the passports required for the members of the Egyptian Delegation.

The said letter states that your Excellency is disposed to receive written suggestions on the Egyptian governmental régime, provided that they are not inconsistent with the policy already adopted by the Government of His Britannic Majesty.

In response I allow myself to make known to your Excellency that it is not permitted, neither to me nor to any member of the Delegation, to make propositions which are not in accordance with the will of the Egyptian nation as expressed in the mandates that have been given us. I must point out to you that these mandates, which have been signed with eagerness by a great part of the *élite* of the nation, comprising the members of the Legislative Assembly and of other representative organs, would have been endorsed unanimously, if the Authorities had not intervened to prevent their circulation and to confiscate them.

Our voyage to England has especially for its object

only to put ourselves in touch with political leaders, representatives of the nation, and other persons directing English public opinion whose influence on Governmental decisions is undoubted. It is to this opinion especially that we desire to address ourselves, persuaded that the success of our cause will depend in great part upon the spirit of justice, of liberty and of protecting the interests of the weak which characterize English public opinion.

Your Excellency will notice that, under these circumstances, it is impossible for us to attain our object by the means of simple communication made solely in Egypt, for the cause that we defend must be presented in the first place to English public opinion, which evidently has need, in order to be enlightened, to receive the details through the natural and authorized representatives of the Egyptian nation.

Forbidding our departure makes illusory and inoperative the mission that we have accepted by the will of the country. It is difficult to conciliate this situation with the principles of liberty and justice which the victory of Great Britain and her Allies is supposed to have caused to triumph. This victory has repeatedly been declared to be for the purpose of opening a new era for mankind through listening to and granting the just demands of peoples.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,

Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Telegram to M. Lloyd George

Cairo, December 4, 1918.

His Excellency, Mr. Lloyd George,
Prime Minister, Downing Street, London.

What is happening in Egypt is so directly in opposition with the traditions of liberty and of justice of Great Britain and with the liberal policy of which your Excellency has always been the champion, that the Egyptians have come to ask themselves whether the principles that the statesmen of the Empire do not cease to proclaim in their daily declarations are applicable to certain fractions of humanity only—to the exclusion of others less favored.

Does your Excellency admit that the unanimous voice of a country cannot make itself heard when on all sides there is a cry of peoples in favor of their rights to existence and to the free disposition of their destinies?

When your great country has just come victoriously out of a struggle that it entered only for the sake of liberty, does it permit that in its name this same liberty is denied to us?

Egypt, conscious of her rights and duties, has wanted to enlighten British public opinion on her true situation, and to inform the British about her national aspirations in regard to which she expects from the justice of Great Britain full realization.

But not only have the Authorities forbidden the circulation of the mandates given to the deputation which has been formed at this end the mission of defending the cause of Egypt, but they are trying also to put obstacles in the way of the departure of this deputation for England.

What the authorities in Egypt want to do is to put between British public opinion and ourselves a barrier, and thus make it difficult to have exact information of what is going on here from the most natural sources.

In the name of the Egyptian Delegation, I bring these facts to the attention of your Excellency.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,
Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Letter Taken to London by a British Officer Who Sympathizes with the Egyptian Cause, and who Left it Personally at the Prime Minister's Office

Cairo, January 12, 1919.

His Excellency, Lloyd George,
Downing Street, London.

Excellency:

On December 4 I had the honor of sending you a telegram in which I set forth the arbitrary measures taken against our individual liberty by the representatives of your Government in Egypt.

A month has passed, and our position remains the same. In fact, the entire Egyptian people, from Premier to simple peasant, is imprisoned in its own country.

You have certainly been informed of the circumstances that accompanied our sequestration. We cannot imagine how such proceedings can be justified, whether from the point of view of law, of social usage, even of reasonable policy, and we do not understand how the British can apply systematically so humiliating a treatment to a nation with the rich and glorious past of ours. Whatever may be its present weakness, a nation with a civilisation so ancient will always preserve, before the world, its prestige and its title to the gratitude of the world.

Deny the civilizing mission of Egypt, in spite of the traces that attest its glorious past; deny its benefits to

the culture of the world; suppose that it is only an agglomeration of savages, ruled by the brutality of their instincts and without law—do you refuse to believe that Egypt has been a precious aid to you? The enormous sacrifices that we have made during the war, in blood and treasure, for the triumph of your cause, were indispensable to you, and, moreover, you have recognized many times that these sacrifices were one of the principle factors of the victory in the Orient.

Then, while Egypt, which served you in every way, was expecting her just recompense, she underwent on the morrow of the armistice, by the sequestration of her entire population, a régime of humiliation. Even were you to suppose that Egypt had no civilization and that Egypt gave you no aid, would you none the less refuse to apply to her the principle which you have agreed with President Wilson to apply—*Impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed, and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with?*

If in the matter of freedom to travel we are not treated with justice, how shall we be able to make our voice heard when it comes to the more serious and more important question of political freedom? At whatever point of view we place ourselves, we can find, neither in the law nor in pretended military necessity, any excuse for the measure of which we are the victims. A single explanation remains—that we ought not to allow ourselves to adopt, for it impugns your good faith—that you desire to make our silence, imposed by force, appear at Paris as the acceptance by Egypt of the protectorate and the political régime it comports.

God knows, however, that at no moment have we be-

lieved that this régime would be definite: we have always thought that it was a question of a momentary expedient, born of the war, and that would have to finish with the war. For we could not bring ourselves to believe that Great Britain would justify the proclamation of a permanent protectorate by her own unilateral act, decided and applied *motu proprio* without the consent or desire of the Egyptian people.

Allow us, Excellency, to ask the liberal statesman that you are whether what has been done in Egypt in your name and by your orders is considered by you to be in harmony with the principles of liberty—the sacred dogma you have spent your life in defending and by the championship of which you have come to the front from simple member of the House of Commons to the Premiership? The principle of liberty is incompatible with the sequestration of a nation of thirteen millions. How can the leader of a Government consent to acts directly opposed to his convictions? We leave your Excellency's conscience to decide.

Is the British nation—the most jealous people in the world of its own liberties—informed of the treatment accorded by British authority to the Egyptians? Or is it a measure emanating from the executive power alone, without the knowledge of British public opinion, and the responsibility of which falls on the executive alone? Perhaps the Cabinet will refuse to accept this responsibility, or will cause it to be assumed by the military authorities. But can your Excellency admit, in your soul and conscience, that our sequestration is of any utility at all to military operations, since there remains not a shadow of what could be called military operations in Egypt two months after the armistice?

You have been, Excellency, the generous orator who defended with all his soul the principles of equality and liberty, and you have always with admirable frankness taken the side of the poor against the rich, the weak against the strong, democracy against autocracy.

The British Government, which has accomplished the great things of which the whole world knows, can do much. But it cannot, in disregarding right and justice, and in willing deliberately the humiliation of the Egyptian people, gain the heart of the Egyptians.

In conclusion, we repeat that Egyptians are convinced that the great British nation is ignorant of our sequestration, and that if it knew the facts, British public opinion would sympathise with us and protest with us, in a generous and just indignation.

Accept, Excellency, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,

Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

(This Report was Presented in Arabic, with a French Translation, to the British High Commissioner on March 30. The Members of the Delegation were Invited to the Residency on March 31 to Discuss its Contents with the High Commissioner.)

Cairo, March 29, 1919.

General Sir Edmund Henry Hyman Allenby,
British High Commissioner.

Answering your invitation of March 26, the undersigned, members of the Egyptian Delegation, have the honor to submit to your Excellency this report on the causes of the discontent of the Egyptians. Although the declarations of Lord Curzon put us in a peculiar light in regard to the present troubles, that does not cause us to lack in our duty of patriotism and humanity. This sacred duty compels us to enlighten you on the beginning of these troubles, in the hope that you will be willing, with your high wisdom, to suppress the causes in order to have disappear the effects.

This movement of a general character, which was foreseen by none of those who are occupying themselves with Egyptian policy, is not inspired by a sentiment of hatred against the British in general, as one could infer from the expressions of Lord Curzon, who declares that we want to expel from our country the most powerful empire in the universe. On the contrary, nothing in the conduct

of the Egyptians, from the beginning of the Occupation to our time, indicates that there exists any hatred of any kind whatever, but everything in this conduct proves the natural sentiment of every people to aspire to its independence. Here, this sentiment was mingled with the hope that the sympathy of the noble British people would aid us to obtain our independence, convinced as we are that the opportunity Lord Salisbury was looking for in his declaration of November 3, 1886, is offering itself at the present moment.

In fact, it was impossible that the Egyptian people —the most peaceful of races—should think of irritating Great Britain at the time when we were counting upon her cooperation to obtain our liberty. The British statesmen who are in Egypt cannot deny that the Egyptians have been, and are disposed to offer to aid Great Britain as much as they possibly can in the defense of the cause of justice and of the liberty of small races. No more can they deny that at the time of the intervention of Turkey in the conflict certain responsible Egyptian personalities renewed assurances of this same disposition. By their irreproachable attitude during the war and the great sacrifices they have made, the Egyptian people expected to be treated with solicitude and to be rewarded (Turkish suzerainty having been ended) by the recognition of their independence.

The Egyptian Delegation was entrusted with the mission of demanding this independence. Inscribed at the head of its program was the necessity of its departure for England, in order to expose its views to the British people and to gain British sympathy for Egypt and the Egyptians, and also to show to British public opinion that between the interests of Great Britain and the independ-

ence of Egypt a ground of reconciliation was not impossible, but on the contrary easy to find. The Egyptian Delegation counted equally upon the favorable testimony that your Excellency has given concerning the Egyptians, after you had won the victory and triumph crowned your efforts. Thus, everything points to the fact that our movement is not the result of hatred rotted in our souls, although that may be, in general, one of the effects of disillusion.

I

When the protectorate over Egypt was proclaimed, the Egyptians asked themselves with astonishment how it was possible that with the British, a liberal people, their political situation was worse than with the Turks. But far from admitting such a thing, they believed that it was a question merely of a momentary fancied necessity of the state of war. Certainly the upper classes were the most troubled by this event. Nevertheless the working class soon began to feel the uneasiness resulting from humiliations of all sorts that it had to undergo because of measures undertaken by the authorities in the matter of volunteers and other burdens imposed upon them. The uneasiness then penetrated the middle classes. One can even prove from the official investigations that the traces of uneasiness were universal. The feeling increased before the threats that the young British inspectors addressed to certain notables on the subject of a more humiliating treatment which would be applied when Egypt would be entirely recognized as belonging to Great Britain.

But the hope of resolving the Egyptian question in

conformity with the aspirations of the Egyptians was the palliative of this state of uneasiness. This hope increased from day to day, when we read the speeches of British and American statesmen, and especially after the speech of President Wilson on the freedom of small peoples, in which he declared that in the future there would be no longer dominating races and subject races, but that all would be equal in a world-wide brotherhood.

This hope, however, was disturbed sometimes in intellectual circles by the information published concerning the preparatory legislative study, that is to say, the study of the Commission on Capitulations. In fact, what was published of the program resulting from this Commission's labors satisfied none, neither the Egyptians nor the foreigners: but the Government paid no attention to this discontent. For one who observes closely the course of events in Egypt, it is impossible not to recognize that this legislative commission frightened the Egyptians as to the future planned for their country, in view of the fact that the interests of all others were taken care of in the new projects—to the exclusion of theirs! Thus they were brought little by little to lose hope of the sympathy of Great Britain.

These studies were finally followed by a project of organic law whose spirit accorded perfectly with the spirit of the legislation prepared for the unification of the judicial system. From this project of organic law one can infer clearly that the Egyptians were to be considered as a negligible quantity, who should have no part in carrying on the affairs of their country. Profoundly affected, they believed, however, that all this scheme was inspired by the imperialistic party and that the liberal parties in Great Britain was far from endorsing this

state of affairs, and they continued to count upon British public opinion and on the Peace Conference whose principles were established by the four liberal nations: Great Britain, France, the United States and Italy, on the foundations of freedom, right and justice.

It was when these principles were published, and officially adopted by the response of the Supreme Council of Versailles to the letter of the American Government (transmitting the German demand for an armistice), that the Delegation was formed. Its members are not irresponsible and are not unqualified to express Egyptian public opinion, as some pretend. On the contrary, aside from the quality of deputies in the Legislative Assembly of its president and some of its members, it holds in its hands the votes of more than three-fourths of the deputies who compose the present Legislative Assembly. The Delegation possesses also the mandates of other representative bodies such as the Provincial Councils, the Municipal Councils, and those of the notables of the country.

The Delegation, having demanded passports for England and France, met with a refusal. They complained to the High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, and then to Premier Lloyd George. They struck finally at every door for permission to go. In the meantime the Cabinet of Rushdi Pasha resigned because the British authorities refused to allow two of its members to go in time to reach London before the Peace Conference met. The prohibition to leave Egypt enforced against Egyptians, especially against the Premier and one of his Ministers, could naturally create only this supposition: that British policy did not intend to support at the Peace Conference the hopes of the Egyptians for the same treat-

have become practically a conviction if Sir Reginald Wingate, seeing that the Ministry made the withdrawal of its resignation contingent upon the lifting of the embargo, had not promised the two ministers that he would insist to the British Government, and hoped to succeed in his representations, that they be allowed to go to Europe. This promise of the High Commissioner was so serious that the discussion took the form of arranging about the means of transport, so that everybody was convinced that the Delegation was preparing to leave. If this departure had taken place, the discontent of the Egyptians, caused by the withholding of passports from those they had chosen to expose their demands in London and Paris, would have been dissipated and there would have been dissipated also the natural anxiety and tension accompanying the long and uncertain period of waiting.

During this time the Egyptians were reading with astonishment the news concerning the Delegations of other countries: the Hedjaz, Armenia, Syria, the Lebanon, etc., which, yesterday still Turkish provinces, were for the most part in war against the Allies, while Egypt, richer, more civilized and enjoying already an autonomy guaranteed by an international treaty, had aided in the conquest of these same countries. The Hedjaz had been recognized as a belligerent, promised its independence, and invited officially to send delegates to take part in the general discussions and sign the final treaty. Then, Egypt alone had no right to have its Delegation and the Egyptians alone could not go to the Peace Conference to submit their cause. Nor could they go to England to appeal to British public opinion. Who would doubt ment accorded all other nations. This supposition would

that such treatment could have any other effect than arousing the anger of the people?

When it was declared here that the prohibition to travel was final and that the resignation of the Cabinet was accepted—resignation which the *Morning Post* said in its number of January 29 made it very difficult, because of the reasons of its presentation, for any other Egyptian to form a Ministry without exposing himself to unpopularity—public opinion in Egypt was excited and the despair of seeing the situation ameliorate began to spread through the country. It was then that we presented to his Highness the Sultan a request to intervene in order to appease the unrest that was filling the hearts of the people and it was then that deputations from all parts of the country, inspired by the same considerations as ourselves, commenced to send in petitions to His Highness of the same tenor.

The superior authorities could persuade no one, among those qualified to assume the burden in the difficult situation created in the country by the policy of repression, to form a Cabinet. The military authorities summoned us finally and warned us that we were obstructing the functioning of the Government in trying to prevent the formation of a Cabinet; and two days later were arrested and deported to Malta our President, Saad Pasha Zagloul, and three of our colleagues, Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud, Ismail Pasha Sidky and Hamad Pasha El-Bassil.

II

This took place when the whole country was convinced that we had done nothing illegal either in transgressing the common law or in regard to orders of the military

authority. Scarcely was the news of the arrest and deportation of our colleagues known than a numerous group of students of the higher schools came to inform us that they had decided to make manifestations. We advised them earnestly to give up their project and go back quietly to their studies. But it seems that their youth could no longer stand the policy of oppression and that in this state of mind they were unable to reflect seriously about our advice or persuade their comrades to listen to us.

The day after the arrest the students made peaceful demonstrations. Nearly three hundred were arrested. The following day, March 10, the students of Al-Azhar University participated in the manifestations. Some hoodlums profited by this to attack tram-cars and break the windows of several shops. On the 11th, another peaceful manifestation of students was received by a volley of shots which killed a certain number of them. On the 12th, similar peaceful manifestations were suppressed by machine-gun fire which caused the death of more young people. The same day, at Tanta, a peaceful manifestation of students was met by continuous machine-gun fire which made numerous victims killed and wounded. On the 13th and the 14th, the British army in Cairo intervened to put down further peaceful manifestations by firing directly into the groups in the streets, who were without arms and who were committing no acts of violence.

There is no doubt that this firing on unarmed students by the British troops, when the students were orderly and were simply making manifestations, provoked serious disturbances throughout the country. This was the last straw which broke the camel's back. In fact, on March 15th, news began to arrive of attempts to cut the railway

lines, and immediately the entire country participated in these outbreaks. The discontent arising from the cruel treatment inflicted, in the midst of peace, upon a peaceful and unarmed people was not alone shown by the men. The most distinguished women in Egyptian society were not able, on their side, to see their fellow-countrymen treated in this way, and keep silent about it. The curtain that ordinarily separates our women of the upper classes from the outside world did not prevent them from expressing their sentiments. In fact, nearly three hundred women of the most important families of Cairo organized on March 20th a simple and dignified manifestation, after they had read in the morning newspapers that permission had been granted them. But when they got out of their carriages and reached the home of Saad Pasha Zagloul, the British soldiers surrounded them on all sides, with fixed bayonets pointed towards them, and compelled them to remain two hours under a broiling sun without allowing them either to walk or to go home in their carriages. The permission to return home was granted only after they had been seen in this situation by the personnel of the American and Italian Diplomatic Agencies. This was another proof of the policy of harassing and humiliating the Egyptians which—in justice and equity—must alone be held responsible for all the events that followed.

The military authorities, however, summoned us once more on March 16 to declare to us that we should be held responsible for whatever trouble arose and to force us to cause the manifestations to cease. But this time we were allowed to discuss the question of responsibility. On this subject we declared that the troubles were not the consequence foreseen or unforeseen of the formation and

the work of our Delegation, that our program in no way encouraged disorders, and that on the contrary we were the first to regret them. As to appeasing them, we were not the ones who possessed effective means for reaching that result. We advised, as the best way of restoring calm in the country by peaceful means, the formation of a Cabinet that could go before the country with some concessions of a character to satisfy the people and make possible the assumption by the Ministers of their heavy responsibilities under the difficult circumstances. (This was also the opinion of the *élite* of the country—Ulemas, Copt Orthodox Patriarch, former Ministers, Deputies, etc., as they declared in their letter of March 24 to the General Commanding the British Forces in Egypt.)

On March 17, we went to see Rushdi Pasha, the Prime Minister who had resigned, and his two colleagues Adli Pasha and Sarwat Pasha, and convinced them that it would be well to show their conciliatory sentiments in entering into pourparlers for the formation of a Cabinet that could dominate the alarming movement whose unknown results were greatly to be feared. They gave proof of their desire to aid in solving the situation by calling at the Residency: but there was no result. The troubles have taken since such proportions and such form that the consequences among the people are not easy to appreciate and predict.

What we can assure your Excellency, with perfect frankness, is that the discontent of the Egyptians is caused by the fact that they are not treated with the same consideration and given the same privilege—or rather, the same right—accorded to small races that are not ahead of them in civilization. The Egyptians are prevented from putting their national aspirations before

the Peace Conference. All the Egyptians, from highest to lowest, share this grief. Despair has prompted them to express their sentiment. Everyone expresses it in his own way. Men of authority, officials or private citizens, have expressed it in different written protests; lawyers have interrupted their professional activity; the youth of our nation has made peaceful demonstrations. As to the inhabitants of the provinces, they have shown how they feel, some by peaceful manifestations, other by different acts of violence, as we know from the official communiqués, and some of which inspire in us keen regret.

Such is the situation in which our country finds itself at the present moment. We have given your Excellency an exact statement of the facts in the case which we beg you to verify. We have every hope that your sense of justice and political wisdom will dissipate the discontent and unrest of Egypt by suppressing the causes that have created discontent and unrest.

To aid a nation is one of the most sacred duties of great men.

Accept, Excellency, the assurance of our high esteem,

(Follow the signatures of ALY CHAARAOUI, Vice-President of the Delegation and Member of the Legislative Assembly, and the other members of the Delegation, who represent the various religious confessions and organized bodies in Egypt.)

PARIS, July 14, 1919.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

In the name of the Egyptian people, we desire to protest against Article XCLVII of the Treaty of Versailles. This Article, and the following Article up to and including Article CLIV of the said Treaty, were formulated without our knowledge and consent, although we were in Paris and had made a formal demand to be heard by the Peace Conference. As the Peace Conference has left the Egyptian question in the hands of Great Britain, it is our duty to make this protest to the House of Commons and to appeal to you and to your constituents for justice and fair play.

To the Briton, the most precious possession is his individual liberty and the independence of his country. Is it possible for him to deny to others that for the defense of which a million Britons have given their lives since August 1, 1914? We ask you simply to listen to us, and then to decide whether the establishment of a British Protectorate over Egypt, against our will and without our consent, is consonant with the traditions, individually and collectively, of your race.

When Great Britain declared war against Germany, Egypt immediately followed her example. We Egyptians were in entire sympathy with the ideals in defense of which the British nation took up arms. We felt sure that the great conflict between the forces of democracy

and the forces of autocracy, between principles based on right and fiats based on might, would end in securing for small and weak nations a brighter future. We believed with Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George that the triumph of Great Britain and her associates would establish the world on a new foundation. For this reason we were glad to ally ourselves with the Powers that promised to fight until the sanctity of treaties, the rights of small nations, the existence of an international morality, were recognized throughout the world. In appealing to her dominions, her colonies, and the non-European races over whom she was ruling, for aid in blood and treasure, the British made it perfectly clear that in their opinion the world was no longer big enough to contain two moralities, one for Europe and another for Asia and Africa.

During the long years of war, in which we suffered with you and helped you to bear the burden, we were repeatedly told that when the final settlement came, none who had helped in the common cause would be forgotten. General Sir Edmund Allenby—the most competent man in the world to make the statement—declared publicly that the aid of Egypt was the most important factor of success in the decisive British campaign against the Turks. Had we not reason, then, to look forward to the defeat of Germany as our day of Independence?

Another cause of encouragement to us was the recognition of the independence of our brothers of the Hedjaz, who speak the same language as ourselves and are of the same religion as most of us. The Arabs of the Hedjas did not have before a separate political existence like ourselves. In fact, within a century, they were under our political control. We watched the dealings of Great Britain with the Hedjaz with keen interest, and we regis-

tered with satisfaction the statement of the British Cabinet, made in the House of Commons and reiterated after the opening of the Peace Conference, that the action in regard to the Hedjaz was inspired solely by the desire to help a subject nation to free itself from a foreign yoke and was not due to considerations of expediency. Was it illogical for us to expect from the British Government, in view of the oft-repeated assertions of its members, treatment at least as generous as that accorded to the Arabs of the Hedjaz?

In order not to embarrass the British Government in the prosecution of the war, but rather to co-operate and further the success of British arms, the Egyptian people did not rise up against the proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1914. We were patient. Perhaps this violation of the Treaty of 1840, this denial of the solemn assurances of a generation of British statesmen, was a war measure, deemed necessary at the time, but which would be renounced immediately British arms triumphed over Germany and Turkey? It was not a decision of the British Parliament, approved by British public opinion.

In regard to the sad succession of events in Egypt since November 11, 1918, the Egyptian people have no fear of a fair and impartial inquiry. We want the truth known. If the Peace Conference were to send a Commission to Egypt, as they have done to Fiume and Syria and elsewhere, we should be very happy. The only crime of which we have been guilty is the ardent desire to be consulted concerning our own destiny. The Egyptian people asked for permission to explain their aspirations in London to representatives of your august body and to the British people. At the Peace Conference that was to be convened in Paris, we wanted only what every other

race of the Near East asked for and obtained, a hearing of our case. Permission was denied us, the representatives of Egypt, to go to London or to Paris. When the Egyptian Cabinet resigned in protest against the refusal of the British military authorities to allow us to go to England, the President of our Delegation and three of its members were arrested suddenly and were deported to Malta without any charge having been preferred against them.

In Paris, we have received no answer to our communications to the Peace Conference.

It would be more expedient and politic to meet the national aspirations of the people of a friendly nation rather than impose upon them by force a political status which they believe to be against their interests and which they cannot accept. A free Egypt would in no way lessen or compromise the strategic advantages necessary to England. Upon this and other questions, a satisfactory arrangement can easily be arrived at between the British and Egyptian Governments.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.

PRESIDENT WILSON

1. Telegram, dated Cairo, December 14th, 1918, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

2. Telegram, dated Cairo, December 27, 1918, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

3. Telegram, dated Cairo, January 3, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

4. Telegram, dated Cairo, January 13, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

5. Letter, dated Paris, April 22, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

6. Letter, dated Paris, April 24, 1919, addressed by the Secretary of President Wilson to the President of the Delegation.

7. Letter, dated Paris, April 29, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

8. Letter, dated Paris, June 6, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

9. Letter, dated Paris, June 9, 1919, addressed by the Secretary of President Wilson to the President of the Delegation.

10. Letter, dated Paris, June 18, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to President Wilson.

TELEGRAM

CAIRO, December 14, 1918.

HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON,
American Embassy, Paris.

In leaving your country to bring yourself the good word to the Old World and to incarnate the inflexible will of free America in the work of deciding the affairs of nations upon the basis of justice and right, you have caused yourself to be awarded a new title to the gratitude, already so great, of humanity.

No people more than the Egyptian people has felt strongly the joyous emotion of the birth of a new era which, thanks to your virile action, is soon going to impose itself upon the universe, and to spread everywhere all the benefits of a peace whose calm and durability will no longer be troubled by the ambitions of hypocrisy or the old fashioned policy of hegemony and furthering selfish national interests.

No people more than the Egyptian people appreciates the admirable disinterestedness with which your country entered into the war—disinterestedness that now enables it to demand that the same justice rule in deciding the affairs of the feeble and of the powerful, of the small as of the great.

It is in this thought that Egypt desires, at the moment when you are setting foot in Europe to plead the high

and noble cause of humanity, to bring to you the respectful expression of her wishes that you be successful in your work for right and justice.

The Egyptian Delegation, mostly composed of deputies to the Legislative Assembly and which has received, by special mandate of the population the mission to go to Europe to expose and defend national aspirations, regards it as a duty to give you in person, if the opportunity is allowed, the respectful and admiring greetings of this country.

Unfortunately, the Authorities have refused passports to the members of the Delegation, and this measure which deprives us of presenting to world-wide public opinion our griefs and our wishes, leaves the cause of Egypt at the mercy of insufficient and inexact documentation, and does not permit the realization of the insistent desire of Your Excellency, shared by the Allies, of seeing the destinies of peoples directed in accordance with their own desires.

We have been invited, it is true, on the part of the British Authorities, to formulate, if we desire to, written suggestions on the government of the country, but on condition that they do not discard the protectorate already established. This is asking of us the impossible: for Egypt has never admitted this protectorate imposed as a war measure and which, while suppressing with a single stroke our ideal of independence, violates rights we long ago conquered from Turkey and that this war, far from limiting, must on the contrary, in conformity with the new principles of the respective nationalities, broaden up to entire sovereignty.

We regret such an attitude on the part of the Government of a country in the liberalism of which we have

entire faith, and we shall be excused if, in taking a position squarely against this attitude, we wish to consider the interests of our national existence alone.

For these reasons, and in the name of Egypt, this country of advanced culture and very ancient civilization, this country of strong homogenous race, imbued with the ideas of progress and enlightenment, we protest strongly against all the limitations that might be brought to her rights and her independence.

Egypt begs your Excellency to give her the opportunity of having her voice heard in defence of her lawful aspirations.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,

Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

TELEGRAM

CAIRO, December 27, 1918.

DR. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America, London.

On the day of your arrival in England, the Egyptian Delegation, in the name of all the population of this country, appeals to your Excellency to use his influence with the British Government in order that the representatives of Egypt, prevented without possible reason from leaving the country, be authorized to go to Europe to be able to communicate to the competent authorities their ideal and their national aspirations.

In insisting upon their departure in order to submit to your Excellency, to British public opinion, and to those who are going to sit at the table of the Peace Conference, the views of their compatriots on the subject of the political destinies of Egypt, the members of the Delegation are demanding only a natural and sacred right.

Egypt is trying to win her independence—the national right of nations—and she respectfully appeals to your Excellency to help her in attaining this noble end.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly
and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

TELEGRAM

CAIRO, January 3, 1919.

DR. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America, Paris.

In two previous telegrams we have informed your Excellency of the refusal of the British Authorities to permit the departure of the Delegation that has been entrusted with the responsibility of defending the interests and presenting the demands of Egypt in Europe.

In spite of the importance and multiplicity of your duties, we are persuaded that you have not been able to disinterest yourself in a question in which your aid, to assure the respect due to liberty, appears to be particularly necessary.

As we do not cease to be met with a refusal to allow our departure from our own country, the Egyptian Delegation renews to your Excellency its urgent prayer to help us to be in a position to expose the aspirations of Egypt.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly
and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

TELEGRAM

CAIRO, January 13, 1919.

PRESIDENT WILSON,
Paris.

At a meeting held today, attended by several members of the Legislative Assembly and other elected bodies as well as by numerous representative citizens of this country, it was decided unanimously to telegraph you the following address on the occasion of the opening of the Peace Conference:

To the great and venerated President who led the people of the United States in their disinterested participation in the European conflict to save humanity and to preserve the world in the future from the horrors of war, we send our affectionate greetings;

To the eminent philosopher and statesman who occupies to-day a preponderant place among the leaders of peoples and whose high ideals are imposing themselves upon statesmen and all nations, we offer our homage and our admiration;

To the chief of the great American democracy, who left his country in order to bring about a durable peace based upon equal justice for all and guaranteed by the Society of Nations, we submit the cause of Egypt, which is subjected to a foreign domination that Egypt unanimously rejects.

Long live the United States! Long live President Wilson!

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,

Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Grand Hotel, Paris, April 22, 1919.

His Excellency, President Woodrow Wilson.
Sir:

I have the honor to submit that the entry of the United States into the world war in 1917, and her wonderful and inspired leadership during the past two years, have given the Egyptian people confidence that their claims to independence, guaranteed by the new Society of Nations, would receive a hearing from the Peace Conference and the support of all who are longing for a durable world peace.

From the beginning of the war, the Egyptian nation has never faltered in its loyalty to the Entente Alliance, and especially to Great Britain. To avoid the raising of embarrassing questions, the Egyptian leaders decided to work whole-heartedly for the winning of the war, and postpone discussion of the future of Egypt until the Peace Conference.

A delegation has been sent to Paris by the Egyptians to present their case. We represent all elements of the Egyptian population, Mohammedan and Christian alike.

I quite understand that your Excellency is overburdened with demands for audiences. But the importance of our cause justifies the request that one of my colleagues and I be received by you on the day and at the hour when you are able to grant us a hearing.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient and humble servant.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation, and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly.

American Commission to Negotiate Peace

Paris, April 24, 1919.

My dear Sir:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 22nd and to say that it will be brought to the President's attention.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Gilbert F. Close,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. Saad Zagloul,
Grand Hotel, Paris.

Egyptian Delegation

Paris, April 29, 1919.

To His Excellency President Wilson.

Mr. President:

The note of which your Excellency will find a copy enclosed, was addressed to the Peace Conference with a view to justify the demand that the Egyptian Delegation be given a hearing by that high assembly.

Upon your respect for the rights of men, we base our hope that the demand will be granted. Our faith in the impartial justice upon which you proposed to make the peace of the world is so great that even your recent intervention in connection with the British protectorate has not shaken it. Whatever may have been the reason that led the United States to recognize the protectorate, we believe that we should now make known the real opinion and aspirations of our country.

The privilege which we ask was not refused to the enemies of the cause of liberty. Can it be denied to those who have contributed to the triumph of liberty?

We make a special appeal to your Excellency because the people of all Egypt have placed their supreme hope in you. In no country was your stirring call for justice heard with such response as in Egypt. We are hungering and thirsting for liberty and in your principles we see the pledge of our deliverance.

We were the first to rejoice over the coming of an era when "all people and all nationalities would have a right to live on a footing of equality, in liberty and security one with the other, whether they be strong or whether they be weak."

We have counted on your promise that in the general settlement the people would have satisfaction. That is why our young men rallied to the cry, "Long live Wilson!"

Only yesterday your solicitude spoke eloquently on behalf of a small nation, refusing to allow her conquerors to rule without the control of the League of Nations. You would not admit that a people who until now had formed a part of the Ottoman Empire should pass from one sovereignty to another like a piece of merchandise. You insisted that their aspiration be respected. Can this solicitude stop at the threshold of our unfortunate country?

Egypt is the cradle of civilization. The people of Egypt have faith in the high mission you assumed when you said that justice and not interest must dominate.

I am, Mr. President,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,
For the Egyptian Delegation.

4 Avenue Malakoff, Paris, June 6, 1919.

His Excellency President Woodrow Wilson.

Dear Sir:

I had the honor to request on April 22nd last an audience, in which, as the representatives of an historic and civilized country, I had hoped to submit to your Excellency the real state of affairs in Egypt, as well as the national aspirations of my fellow countrymen. The reply I received from your private secretary on the 24th ult. was to the effect that my request would be submitted to your Excellency in due course. Since then, I have heard nothing more.

My request for an audience was based upon the fact that the hopes of the Egyptian people rested in you as the author of these noble principles, and as the Honored President of the Great American Democracy, which entered the war for no selfish purpose but merely to serve the cause of liberty and justice.

Again the material and scientific resources of the United States, together with the great moral efforts of the Republic, were utilized—as your Excellency emphatically declared—not in self-defense nor for the love of conquest nor, may I be permitted to add, for the consecration of foreign dominations over unwilling countries, but for the establishment of a system of international justice before which must bow both the stronger and the weaker nations.

These principles—which were declared in the name of the American people as the basis of a democratic and a durable peace—have become so deep-rooted in the hearts of the whole Egyptian people that they revolted, unarmed, for the application of these principles to their country. Their absolute faith in the Fourteen Points, in the speech of September 27th last, and in other declarations, were unshakeable. And the bullets of the British army in Egypt were powerless to shake their firm belief in your ability—and in the ability of the American people—to realize the principles for which they had fought and won. In the deportation of my colleagues and myself, the Egyptian people saw an attempt on the part of the British authorities to deprive the country of the benefit of your consideration.

Their will prevailed. We were released. And our first duty on arriving at Paris was to request your Excellency for an audience. This honor was denied to us. And a few days later, the recognition by the Government of the United States of America of the British protectorate over Egypt was published throughout the world.

According to information received, the news in Egypt fell on deaf ears. The Egyptians could not imagine that the principles which promised to the world a new era of political freedom and political equality, would consecrate the servitude of a whole nation.

The decision of the Peace Conference with regard to Egypt resulted in a policy of systematic revenge by the British military authorities throughout the country. Towns and villages have been submitted to most awful exactions. Some villages have been completely burned, and thousands of families are without shelter. People who do not salute British officers are court-martialled.

The judge of Kena Province refused to attend court to avoid submitting to such humiliation.

The Courbash is being most freely used. Notables are being maltreated and imprisoned. Women were violated, and in one case a husband (who was present) was shot dead by the troops while attempting to defend the honor of his wife.

And all this because the Egyptian people have dared to demand their political emancipation!

That they will persist in demanding their political freedom goes without saying. They will do so in the firm belief in the righteousness of their cause and in their whole-hearted adherence to the principles enunciated by your Excellency. They will either succeed through America's help or perish victims to their loyalty and good faith.

For these reasons, I beg to request that one of my colleagues and I be received by your Excellency so that we may explain to you the state of affairs in Egypt.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

American Commission to Negotiate Peace

Paris, June 9, 1919.

My dear Sir:

I am writing you on behalf of the President to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th and to express regret that the President's time has been so completely taken up that he has not had an opportunity to make an appointment to see you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Gilbert F. Close,
Confidential Secretary to the President.

Mr. Saad Zagloul,
Chairman of the Egyptian Delegation,
4 Avenue Malakoff, Paris.

4 Avenue Malakoff, June 18, 1919.

His Excellency President Woodrow Wilson.

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your confidential secretary's letter of the 9th inst. in which he says that you have not had the time to give an audience to one of my colleagues and myself. We note with satisfaction that you do not exclude the hope of an interview in the future.

We feel sure that you realize, Mr. President, the position in which you have been placed on account of the rôle of International leadership which you have assumed.

We wish to impress upon you that it would be the despair of the Egyptian people if their Delegation failed to get even a hearing before the exponent of International Right and Justice.

We do not believe that you wish Egypt to be condemned unheard. And we do not feel that you can form a judgment on the Egyptian situation without giving a hearing to the Egyptians themselves.

We believe you purposely left open the possibility of an audience with us in the future, and we respectfully request that this be granted us as soon as possible in

order that history may reflect honor on you in this affair, as in all others connected with the Conference.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

PEACE CONFERENCE

1. Letter, dated Cairo, January 11, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference.

2. Letter, dated Paris, April 28, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to the Peace Conference.

3. Letter, dated Paris, May 12, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to Monsieur Georges Clemenceau.

4. Letter, dated Paris, June 6, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to Monsieur Georges Clemenceau.

5. Letter, dated Paris, June 28, addressed by the Delegation to Monsieur Georges Clemenceau, and followed by a set of documents, forming twelve annexes (with photographs), to substantiate statements in the letter concerning the atrocities of the British troops in Egypt.

Cairo, January 11, 1919.

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau,
Paris.

To the President of the Peace Conference which will decide the fate of the small nations, not on the basis of international compensations but on that of absolute justice, the Egyptian Delegation, charged to defend before the Conference the cause of Egypt, declares that—in contradiction to the new principles born of the Allied victory—brutal force prevents us from leaving our country to submit to the Conference our demands and national aspirations.

Whatever may be the pretended particular agreements in regard to the settlement of the Egyptian question, the Conference, respecting the principles upon which the Allies have agreed unanimously, cannot decide upon our future without hearing us.

In the name of liberty, of which you have been during your whole life, by word and pen, the untiring champion; in the name of justice, which you have promised to make the basis of the deliberations and decisions of the Conference; in the name of humanity which cannot permit that a people pass from hand to hand like vulgar merchandise, we implore you not to interpret our silence and failure to appear in person at Paris as our acceptance

of the domination imposed upon us, nor to decide the future of our nation without having heard us.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,

Elected Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly and President of the Egyptian Delegation.

EGYPTIAN DELEGATION

GRAND-HOTEL, PARIS, April 28, 1919.

TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE:

It is certain that the Egyptian question which, since 1840, constitutes a problem of international law, cannot find a more propitious occasion to be settled than the Peace Conference.

It is equally certain that no solution of the Egyptian question will be definite and permanent unless it is in harmony with the wishes of the Egyptian people.

Starting from this point of view, and convinced that the principles of right and justice which form the basis of the deliberations of the Conference are not the property of one race to the exclusion of another, but that they are common to humanity the world over, the Egyptian Delegation, acting by mandate received from the people of Egypt, has come to submit to the Peace Conference the national aspirations, in order that the solution decided upon be permanent and of a nature to aid in the establishment of a durable peace. Repeated declarations, from the day the Conference opened, have set forth that the general aim of this gathering of the nations was to arrive at a permanent peace by the liquidation of all political problems on the basis of the right of small nations to decide their own destiny.

The anxiety of the Egyptians will be easily understood. They see all the races—even simple tribes—whose political status the war has changed, invited to make their voice heard at the Conference, while they alone of the nations affected by the war have been deprived of this right. It is difficult, in order to justify such an equality of treatment, to invoke any plausible reason in harmony with the principles consecrated by the war and that the Conference had taken upon itself the obligation to follow.

Although Egypt has not been invited to attend the Conference, this omission does not cause us to despair of the justice of the Conference. This international gathering only is competent to pass upon the Egyptian question after having heard our Delegation.

(1) If participation in the war is one of the essential conditions to be admitted to a hearing by the Conference, Egypt fulfils this condition. On August 5, 1914, we declared that we were in a state of war with Germany. When, several months later, Turkey intervened in the conflict as an ally of Germany, the situation of Egypt, her vassal, became very delicate. It is then that the authorized representatives of the nation proposed to the British authorities that the independence of Egypt be proclaimed. With the political situation thus arranged, Egypt would be able to fight, at the side of the Allies, on any of the battlefields. This suggestion was not listened to. Great Britain decided upon another solution in declaring *proprio motu* at the beginning of the war, and because of the war, her protectorate over Egypt, in spite of our national aspirations. Nevertheless, the country made, for the cause of the Allies, very heavy sacrifices. General Allenby has recognized that the Egyptian factor was one of the most decisive in the victory against the Turks. Is

it possible, after that, to say that the Egyptian problem is not within the competence of the Conference?

(2) The abolition of Turkish suzerainty, being due to an event of the war, makes necessary the change of the political status of Egypt, established by the Treaty of 1840. But this change can be made only by the decision of the Peace Conference. To proceed to a new examination of the Egyptian question without hearing the Egyptians would be a violation of their rights that the treaty of 1840 had for its object to establish. Moreover, the discussion of this Treaty brings up inevitably an examination of the Conventions in which Egypt was one of the contracting parties, to-wit: the Convention of January 1, 1876, in regard to the institution of mixed tribunals; the Convention of 1880 in regard to the law of liquidation; and the Convention of October 29, 1888, relative to the neutrality of the Suez Canal, in which Egypt was consulted. Would it not be astonishing that the European Concert which, in the nineteenth century, did not fail to hear the voice of Egypt in elaborating treaties concerning lesser problems should refuse this right in the twentieth century, and in a Congress which had taken as a basic principle that the interests of the small nations are as sacred as those of the most powerful? And Egypt has done nothing to deserve so unjust a treatment. She has only followed the evolution of peoples in the way of progress. In the course of this war, she shared with the Powers who represented civilization and progress the heavy burdens of the conflict.

(3) The Peace Conference has listened to provinces which, as a result of the war and in application of the principle of nationalities, have been detached from Turkey. *A fortiori.* Must the Conference not listen to the

Egyptian people whose civilization is very ancient and who would have been independent for almost a century had not the European Concert forced them to retain under Ottoman suzerainty.

For these reasons:

The Egyptian Delegation requests the Peace Conference, in the name of the Egyptian people, that it be admitted to formulate the demands of the country, in accordance with the rules of right and justice that are the foundations of the deliberations of the Conference.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Egyptian Delegation

Paris, May 12, 1919.

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau,
President of the Peace Conference, Paris.

The Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers, regardless of the fact that Egypt had played a great part in the triumph of the principles of right and justice, and therefore deserved the application of these principles to her case, has refused to apply to Egypt these same principles.

The Conference refused to listen to the voice of Egypt which, from the very outset, declared herself in a state of war with the enemies of the Entente, and participated loyally in the struggle of the Allies.

The Conference has refused to discuss, with the representatives of the Egyptian people, the political future of their country, in spite of the fact that the status of Egypt had been changed owing to the war.

The Conference acknowledged the British Protectorate over Egypt, regardless of the opinion of the entire Egyptian people, and without taking into consideration the fact that the whole country had remonstrated against this Protectorate in the most significant manner.

Reason refuses to invoke, in defense of such a decision, the principles for which the United States had entered

the war. Neither are the principles, which President Wilson declared formed the basis of the armistice and the peace, applicable to such a decision. And Great Britain declared emphatically that she entered the war for the triumph of the same principles.

Reason cannot be equally satisfied if the decision with regard to Egypt is to be judged in the light of the political methods prior to the war. For how can it be explained that the Villayet of Hedjaz, which did not bear anything like the burdens of Egypt during the war, has been granted complete independence? How can it be explained that Hedjaz, which is a rudimentary state with scanty resources and very thinly populated, should be superior politically to Egypt, which has so largely and so loyally contributed to the victory of the Allies? The difference between the two countries is immense, and yet the Conference has conferred independence upon the one, and denied the other her political liberty, which is the more sacred to her, having been bought by the blood of her children.

Is it admissible that Egypt should receive worse treatment than the tribes of Asia, which have been the object of such solicitude—Egypt which at one time had helped in establishing order in Hedjaz and even in Greece, and which, during the last century, was victorious over Turkey?

No impartial judge could find one single reason in the attitude taken by the Conference with regard to Egypt, especially by Great Britain, which solemnly declared more than once that she had no intention whatever to annex or "protect" Egypt.

Reason cannot be satisfied by the decision of the Conference, even if it is considered in the light of the "right

of might." For "the right of might" is war and conquest. Egypt was not in a state of war with the Allies, but she fought on their side. She has not been conquered, but she helped to conquer.

It is true that a certain section of the press has upheld the idea that the Oriental countries should not be treated on the same footing as those of the Occident, and that, with regard to the former, all the promises made during the war were unwise. Such a thesis can hardly serve as an excuse to destroy what the war has built. Yet even if the validity of such a thesis is to be admitted, how can one explain the fact that this new thesis has not been applied to all Oriental countries equally?

One hypothesis only remains. The Egyptian people, according to President Wilson's expression in his speech on the criticism of the right of the strongest, have been treated as a "saleable property and chattels."

It is painful to us to think that the Conference has disposed of our country in such a manner. But, unfortunately, however much we respect the Conference, we cannot but state the real facts. There are times and circumstances where it would be dangerous not to sacrifice everything to truth.

In olden times, oppressed people could find comfort in Rousseau's maxim that "the strong is never strong enough to be always strong." But now that President Wilson has thrown such a strong light on the odious character of domination, and has done it so forcibly that nations would prefer annihilation to "domination," it is difficult for the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, where these principles found a most fertile soil, to accept anything but the complete independence of their country.

After the principles of this political, who declared to

the whole world that people were not chattels to be transferred from one hand to another, the Egyptian people, fearing lest the Wilsonian principles should not be applied to their case, faced unarmed the bullets of the British troops in Egypt. And in the middle of such a situation, the Conference, without hearing the voice of Egypt, consecrated by their decision the British Protectorate over the country!

A sad solution, which inevitably thrusts the Egyptian people into a turmoil of despair and agitation.

"Peace," said President Wilson, "can only be lasting if it extinguishes resentment in the hearts of nations, and if there be only one justice for the strong and the weak alike."

Yet the Egyptian people have been sacrificed on the altar of diplomatic understandings between the great Powers. One can hardly imagine why such a sacrifice has been inflicted on a nation like ours, with such a glorious history.

For these considerations, we, the representatives of the Egyptian people, must raise the voice of that poor nation which has been treated as if it did not belong to this universe, and which had worked against herself by throwing her lot on the side of the Allies. Egypt protests most strongly against such a decision which has deprived her of the benefit of peace, after having been a most faithful collaborator during the war. A nation which respects herself, is firm in her ideals and conscious of her rights, cannot allow others to dispose of her destiny, a destiny of which she is alone mistress.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Egyptian Delegation

Paris, June 6, 1919.

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau,
President of the Peace Conference.

The Allied and Associated Powers demand of Austria that she recognize the British protectorate over Egypt. A similar stipulation concerning recognition figures equally among the conditions of peace imposed upon Germany.

Austria and Germany may join themselves to the Governments with which they were at war to recognize the British protectorate over Egypt. But their adhesion to an unjust act could not justify it. Egypt will continue to ignore a protectorate that she has not asked for, that she has not been bidden to take cognizance of and to discuss, that she has never recognized and that she will not recognize.

At the time the project of the Treaty was handed to Germany, we protested a first time against the fate that was meted out to us. Again, the Egyptian Delegation begs the Peace Conference to reconsider the decision that it has deemed good to take in regard to Egypt, for the Conference assembled to establish a just and durable peace ought not to sanction a measure which is unjust and clearly harmful to the interests of all.

It is an unjust measure, because it has been taken

without granting a hearing to the people interested and without the knowledge even of our country; because it does not square in any way with the principles of justice for the defence and triumph of which the Allies have had the intention of fighting; and because it is in flagrant opposition of the spirit of the Fourteen Points that are the bases of the armistice and of the peace; because it is in contradiction with the commentaries of President Wilson in regard to the Articles of the pact to form a League of Nations, notably with the last paragraph of Article 22.

The measure is harmful to Egypt and to the peace of the world at the same time.

Great Britain has been occupying Egypt for thirty-six years, for the purpose proclaimed by her of leading our country to independence. Let us say to the honor of Great Britain that she has succeeded in her task beyond her hopes. For Egypt has been waiting for thirty-six years the end of an illegal and temporary occupation, full of petty annoyances and, above all, humiliating. Everything has been systematically tried by the British, especially during these last months, to make more insupportable still a detested yoke. They have endeavored to divide us, to threaten us, to villify us. They have acted without pity against us in suppressing our cry for liberty. By fire and sword, by the tortuous ways of secret diplomacy, by the most unexpected decisions they have succeeded in obtaining from the Conference, they have worked to discourage our hope in your equity in order to make us accept their domination. But all their efforts have been in vain. Nothing can prevail against the will of the people which demands its right to life and independence.

Since these are the normal relations that exist between

Great Britain and Egypt, how can our country subscribe to a protectorate based upon enmity and injustice and the result of which can be only hate and injustice.

It is a measure equally harmful to the general peace of mankind. Notwithstanding the recognition of the British protectorate by the President of the United States, notwithstanding the unanimity of the twenty-four Powers to demand of Germany the recognition of the said protectorate, notwithstanding the brutal means employed by the British to discourage the Egyptians and to stifle their aspirations, the situation in Egypt grows only worse from day to day. And however our compatriots have not lost all hope in the wisdom and justice of the Conference. What will happen to them when they are thrown back into the bitterness of despair and when they will have realized that right does not make might, but that it is still and always might that makes right? From that moment, how can peace be guaranteed in Egypt? It will not be easy to make the Egyptians understand by what cruel trick of fate they must be excepted from the rule which lays down that every people has the right to dispose of itself.

Even were Egypt reduced to slavery by a permanent decree of the Peace Conference, should she not still have the right to choose her master, and indicate the mode of government she would like to live under, seeing that she must live in tutelage? Alone Egypt is excepted when the principles of justice and liberty are being given world-wide application. Her recompense for the loyalty she has shown to the Allies throughout the war, for the sacrifices she has made to the common cause, is it to be condemned to a political status worse than she has ever had since 1841?

In the name of the Egyptian nation we protest against the measure that it is proposed to apply to us—measure unjust, illegal, prejudicial to the interests of Egypt and of the world peace. Once more we ask the Peace Conference to hear the voice of Egypt, as it has heard the voice of other peoples. We ask it in conformity with the spirit of the noble principles established by the victory in order to spare further shedding of innocent blood and in order to establish PEACE.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

Paris, June 28, 1919.

Monsieur Georges Clemenceau,
President of the Peace Conference.

In a former request, we pointed out to the Peace Conference the reasons why it was right and fitting that we should be heard. We contended that, wholly aside from the fact that the principles set forth as the bases for the Armistice and for making Peace (the fourteen points of President Wilson and his subsequent discourses), imposed the obligation upon you of giving us a hearing before deciding our fate, the Conference was alone competent to settle the Egyptian question. We set forth the proofs that our rights, acquired and recognized by the Treaty of 1840, placed the Egyptian question upon international ground, and that our rights could not logically be taken away from us as the result of a war in which we were the faithful collaborators of the conquerors and not the accomplices of the conquered. We stated also that in view of this situation, it was out of the question that the Allies should ignore us, while recognizing enemies who during four years fought against them, and while granting a hearing to the races of the regions detached from the Turkish Empire. The Peace Conference has received as delegates of an independent nation Arabs of regions that belonged to Egypt at several periods of history, ancient and modern, and not later than the last century.

The Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers has neither responded to our appeal nor judged our cause. It seems that the Peace Conference has contented itself from the beginning with considering the British Protectorate over Egypt as a definitive and legal act. In the Treaty of Versailles, the Conference compelled Germany to recognize the British Protectorate, which does not exist in law or in right because it was not asked for by the Egyptians. The Egyptians have never given their consent to it. They were never even consulted about it. The same astonishing stipulation is embodied in the treaty dictated to Austria.

The recognition of a protectorate in this fashion against the will of the inhabitants of the country concerned, in treaties in which the country concerned is not a contracting party, has no semblance of legality. Besides, what the English have done in Egypt during the period of their occupation, and especially during the war and after the armistice, has opened between them and us an abyss so deep that it is radically impossible for the Egyptians to accept any longer the domination of the English.

We desire to present to the Conference a brief statement of the different forms of atrocities committed in our country. The Conference will thus be in a position to judge whether, after such treatment, the Egyptians should be expected to live under the British Protectorate. Since our race aspires to assume its own part of the obligations that humanity is imposing upon all civilized peoples, we hope that the Conference will re-examine our case.

The Egyptian people hesitate to complain of the cruel vengeance of which they are the victim, vengeance meted out in the name of the great English democracy, but cer-

tainly without its knowledge. The Egyptian people hesitate to brand with such atrocities the glorious British army at the very moment of its leaving the battlefields crowned with the laurel wreath of victory. But our hesitation is not due to lack of the importance of the facts which constitute our grievance or to lack of proofs to establish our charges.[1] We know that the great bulk of the British people consent to what is being done in Egypt only through ignorance of the case of the Egyptian people and of the shameful daily facts of the occupation. The truth has been rigorously suppressed. The British public does not know. The British Parliament does not know. Is there not reason for us to doubt the triumph of justice, when we are confronted with diplomatic combinations of statesmen who mould the policy of the great Powers, and who, by constantly giving in to each other on questions of principle, are sharing, at the expense of justice and right, the spoils of the weak?

Is there not reason for us to doubt the triumph of justice, when we are confronted with the tactics of the English imperialists? Since they have decided to take possession of Egypt, they have represented us, according to circumstances, as actuated in our movement for liberty by different motives. First, they say we are religious fanatics. When this is denied by the remarkable harmony and unity between Christians and Moslems, working together for independence, they say we are inspired by Xenophobia. When this is denied by the fact that Egypt gives hospitality to residents and tourists of all foreign nations, who never have had and have not now anything to complain of in the attitude of the Egyptian

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[1] These proofs are given in twelve Annexes, which accompanied this letter, and which are published at the end of this volume.

people towards them, they end by accusing us of acting as the agents of Turkey and Germany! This is done with the aim of alienating from us the sympathy and support we have the right to expect from public opinion throughout the civilized world, and particularly from Great Britain.

Is there not reason for us to doubt the triumph of justice, when we consider all the obstacles put in our path to prevent our feeble voice, crying for justice, from being heard in the world above the powerful voice of England?

Nevertheless, we maintain hope in the fairness of the Conference. For the Conference claims to have substituted for discredited political theories the new principles of justice and right. We refuse to believe that in this solemn hour of history, when there is a possibility of a new world arising from the ruins of the war, sordid material interests can completely stifle the most elementary sentiments of humanity. Certainly, public opinion in Great Britain and her self-governing dominions, in the United States, in France and in Italy will listen to our grievances and examine the statement of atrocities committed against the Egyptians and of humiliations imposed upon the Egyptians—our reward for the aid we have given the Allies to bring about the happy end of the war.

We refuse to believe that the British people are against us. We doubt if they realize why their Government is against us. The hostility of the military authorities in Egypt against the people of the country, and the barbarous acts of their troops, are the result of our having taken British statesmen at their word. During the war, we helped against the common enemy. After the armistice, we simply asked for the reward others were receiv-

ing, including our nearest neighbors—our independence. We based our claim on our natural right, on the reiterated promies of the British Government, on the principles of the Allies, and on the enormous sacrifices we made for the cause of the Allies and which were, according to General Allenby, the principal factor of victory on the Asiatic front. It is painful for us to impute atrocities to the soldiers of the greatest civilized nation. But can we Egyptians remain with folded arms and keep absolute silence in the presence of the different forms of martyrdom the British military authorities are inflicting upon us, especially when our conscience is free from having committed the slightest crime?

We know that the strong has always a tendency to abuse his strength, and that it is regarded only as a regrettable weakness or as unavoidable in scattered instances to exceed the limit of reasonable treatment of the enemy. But as for us, we have never been the enemies of Great Britain; we have never been in a war against Great Britain; on the contrary, we aided her with all our strength up to yesterday. Then, if excesses committed against the enemy are reprehensible, what is to be thought of excesses committed against a friendly and allied people, and of attacks against its liberty and against its life? Can we hold our peace and not complain when it is decided that every Egyptian, of whatever rank, must stand up and salute passing British officers? Can we preserve our serenity when our women are violated, our villages burned, the innocent assassinated *en masse?*

No, the noble British nation, when it knows the facts, will rise in indignation and condemn atrocities committed in its name against a people with a glorious past, a people whose country is not a *res nullius,* open to exploration

and of which the first occupant has the free disposition. It is necessary, then, for us to set forth facts.

I

In the *Daily News* of April 2, 1919, Miss Durham published an article from which we quote the following lines:

I was in Egypt from November, 1915, to April, 1916, and can confirm the statement of Dr. Haden Guest that it is to our own treatment of the Egyptians that we owe the present trouble. The authorities were certainly to blame in landing Colonial troops in Egypt without carefully instructing them as to the population they would meet there. So ignorant were numbers of these men that they imagined that Egypt was English, and that the natives of the land were colored intruders. "Why were these —— niggers allowed in here at all?"

More than one Australian said that he would clear the lot out if he had his way. They treated the natives with cruelty and contempt. In the canteen in which I worked, a very good native servant was kicked and knocked about simply because he did not understand an order given him by a soldier. An educated native in the town was struck in the mouth, and had his inlaid walking stick snatched from him by a soldier who wanted it. More than one English resident said to me: "It will take years to undo the harm that has been done here by the army." Personally I felt that were I an Egyptian, I should have spared no effort to evict the British. I felt ashamed of my country—bitterly ashamed. The opinion of the native for the soldier was amusingly illustrated by a small conversation book, one phrase was to the effect: "You fool. What for you spend all your money on beer?" And a dialogue with a beggar which ended: "I am poor; I am miserable"; to which the Briton replied: "Go to hell."

I spoke with great severity frequently to the soldiers, telling them that by their conduct they were proving themselves the enemies of England; that the Germans maltreated the enemy, but that they were attacking their own side and would make

enemies. This surprised them very much. They were absolutely ignorant of the situation.

To make matters worse, for the first few days after the troops arrived in quantities, the drink shops were all open all day, and the unlovely results filled the natives with disgust and contempt. It was reported, I do not know with what truth, that drunken men had snatched the veils from Moslem women. The tale was believed by the natives.

Small wonder if they hate and dread us.

This is an exact picture (painted as mildly as possible, however) of the treatment inflicted upon the Egyptians during the war by the same soldiers they helped with all their strength to win the victory. The Egyptians were patient. They were willing to see in these annoyances and humiliations sacrifices of pride and of material advantage, like a thousand other sacrifices they were called upon to make, for recovering their independence. For the Egyptians certainly believed that when the victory was won, the Allies would commence to apply the principles for which they declared they were fighting. But the harsh and humiliating treatment of war time was nothing compared to the atrocities that marked the régime following the armistice and of which proof is given in the appendices attached to this report.

The bad treatment inflicted upon the Egyptians by the British soldiers had its complement in a series of official humiliations that excited the resentment of all classes of the people. The methods employed in the organization of what the British military authorities were pleased to call "voluntary service," as in the requisition of supplies for the army, were conceived in a spirit so totally lacking in kindliness and justice that the discontent went beyond the working classes, most directly harmed, and reached the middle and upper classes. The discontent

grew worse before the threats of young English inspectors, who assured men of prominence that much harsher treatment still would be applied when their hands were free of international obligations in Egypt.

The authorities, judging that it was useless longer to hide their real intentions, drew up projects of law to apply after the definite establishment of the Protectorate, such as the proposed new Organic Law, under the terms of which Egyptians will be considered as a negligible quantity and will have only a slight part in the government of their country. In brief, by these different projects, the intention was revealed to take away from Egypt entirely the autonomy gained at the price of the blood of her children and guaranteed by the Treaty of 1841.

Only then did the Egyptian people commence to despair. For the British authorities in Egypt, the Treaty of London was a "scrap of paper" just like the promises officially made by British statesmen. Consequently, when the armistice was concluded and Turkey found herself in a situation that no longer permitted her to maintain her claim to the suzerainty of Egypt, and Egypt thus became *ipso facto* independent, our people named this Delegation for the purpose of asking the Conference to establish in fact the independence we possessed in law. For the situation of England in Egypt rests on no foundation other than the presence there of an army cowing the people into submission. Great Britain is in Egypt not by right of conquest, nor by right of any international agreement.

For more than five months, the British authorities refused to allow our Delegation to leave for Europe. Public opinion, realizing that the Peace Conference had assembled and was taking up the problems of the Near

East and preparing a Treaty to present to Germany, became aroused. The Egyptians insisted that the authorization for our departure be granted. Standing by the people, the Cabinet presented its resignation, which was accepted. The answer of the British military authorities to the official request of the Egyptian Government was to order the arrest and deportation to Malta of the President of the Delegation and of three of his colleagues. They were taken suddenly from their homes and hurried away under cover of night. There was no trial, and they were not informed of the reasons for their arrest and deportation.

When they learned of this act of violence, totally contrary to the law, there were peaceful demonstrations throughout the country, in which all classes took part. Government officials and personnel of the railways and other transportation services decided to strike. The English thus saw that in the entire territory of Egypt, the people of all classes, irrespective of religion, were against their domination. Nevertheless, they persisted in wishing to govern by force of arms a people who did not want them.

The manifestations were suppressed by machine guns which mowed down dozens of the unfortunate demonstrators. Since the Egyptians had no arms, the order to fire was totally unwarranted. But frightfulness could not now stop the Egyptians from persisting in the determination to make the effort to obtain their independence. They had firm faith in the principles of President Wilson, which had been solemnly accepted by the Entente Allies. They felt that if their Delegation could only get to Paris, justice would be accorded them. So, in spite of the death that awaited them, they advanced in groups in

ecstasy, making the sacrifice of their lives to the cause of liberty. According to figures given in the House of Commons on May 15, the number of those who fell in this way for the triumph of their ideal was more than a thousand.

Even the women were not spared. Without mentioning those who fell on the field of honor during the national demonstrations, we can cite the case of the leading ladies of Cairo, who organized under the leadership of the wife of the Prime Minister a demonstration to protest to the diplomatic agency against the murder of innocent unarmed civilians in the streets of Cairo. Suddenly they were surrounded on all sides by English soldiers who pointed their guns at them. This inspired one of the Egyptian women to say: "Make of me if you will a second Miss Cavell." They were kept for more than two hours in the burning sun. In proof of this statement, we refer to the testimony of the agencies of the United States and Italy.

The British authorities in Egypt were as much disturbed as provoked by the extent of the movement, and astonished at their powerlessness to stop it. It was then that the spirit of vengeance got the better of them, and that they allowed themselves to indulge in the most disgraceful excesses. No longer content to stop the demonstration by means of rifles and machine guns, they were guilty in several places of rape, of the assassination of peaceful villagers, of pillage, of arson—all with the most trifling pretext or even without pretext. No longer was it a question of individual crimes committed by stray soldiers, such as those of which the Minister of Justice and the President of the Legislative Assembly had been victims. No longer was it a question of blows and thefts

in the streets of Cairo and Alexandria. Attacks began to be made by strong military detachments, under the command of their officers, in villages as well as cities.

Here is what the official communiqué says about the burning of Azizia:

False rumors having circulated in regard to the events of Azizia, a special report has been requested from the commandant of the forces on the spot. He declared that the villages of Azizia and Bedrechein had been reported as notorious meeting places of armed Bedouins. Search was made in consequence in these two villages on March 25th. At Azizia we found a large quantity of arms. In the course of our search, some of the rebels tried to escape by the terraces in jumping from house to house. These terraces, too weak, crumbled under their weight, and the fall of the debris on the chimney fires or lighted oil lamps in the interior of the houses caused several fires in the village.

But it appears from the *procès-verbal* of the Provincial Council of the Province of Guizeh that the responsibility for this communiqué rested on a British officer, who is said to have been transferred elsewhere after having been the object of a disciplinary measure. This fact had evidently not come to the knowledge of the British Government at the time of the discussion of the affairs of Egypt in Parliament: for they continued to make use of the above communiqué. (See Annex No. 1.)

Whatever excuses it may be possible to present for lessening the significance of the crimes committed in quarters of Cairo as well as in cities and villages of the provinces, the enumeration of some of them will give an idea of the unjust treatment inflicted upon the Egyptians. We have translated literally the complaints and sworn testimony. They emanate for the most part from the common people, and their childish tone may cause one to

smile. But this very characteristic of sincere naïveté gives a singularly striking idea of the cruelty they had to suffer.

1. Individual Liberty is not Respected in Egypt. Those who rule us have no thought of the pride of the people. The general commanding the British forces of Upper Egypt decreed that every Egyptian must salute British officers passing in the streets, under penalty of being dragged before a Court Martial. These orders were no sooner put into effect than the dignitaries and high officials shut themselves in their homes, and abandoned their personal affairs and those of the state. (See Report of the President of the Court of Kenah to the Minister of Justice, Annexes Nos. 4 and 5.)

2. The Principle of Inviolability is not Taken Into Consideration: There is no Respect for Women and no Regard for the Life and Property of the Innocent.

(a) On March 30, an armored train, transporting several hundred British soldiers, stopped above the village of Chobak. A certain number of soldiers penetrated the village, pillaging everything that was within their reach without encountering the slightest resistance. They attacked the honor of women. A husband who wished to interfere was immediately shot. Soon the soldiers spread themselves throughout the village and committed the most shameful excesses upon the women. Woe to her who wished to defend herself; she was immediately struck down. Woe to the man who wished to intervene; he underwent the same fate. After the village was burned, a hundred and forty-four houses were destroyed. There remains standing of this village only fifty-six houses. Twenty-one people were killed and twelve wounded. Some underwent a refined martyrdom. The soldiers

buried the assistant mayor, his son, his brother and two other persons up to their wasts, and cut them up with their bayonets until they were dead. (See Annexes Nos. 3 and 7.)

(b) A detachment of more than a hundred soldiers, conducted by their officers, went to the village of Azizia, while another detachment of the same size went to Bedrechien. Motive? Searching for arms. The soldiers, after having pillaged the two villages, burned a large number of houses. (See Annexes Nos. 1 and 2.)

(c) In certain quarters of Cairo, the soldiers attacked the inhabitants, ransacking their homes and stealing everything they found, like silver and precious objects. In a single quarter and one night, the crimes reported to the police amounted to thirty-two. The victims belonged to all classes of society: generals, notables, working people. (See Annex No. 6. Annex No. 7 tells the history of a woman who, chased by the soldiers, succeeded with the aid of her husband in fleeing and arriving at her door. But the soldiers fired on her and killed her. (See Annex No. 8.) A little girl of ten years was violated by several soldiers and was finally found dead.

3. Disregard of the Most Elementary Rules of Justice.

(a) Under pretext that in the neighborhood of the village of El-Chabanat an Indian soldier was killed, a detachment of English soldiers entered the village, and after having pillaged it, burned it, leaving more than four thousand people without shelter—all this without investigation and without the slightest proof of an actual crime. (See Annex Nos. 9 and 10.)

(b) Under pretext that a shot had been fired at a British patrol which was passing at a certain distance from

the village of Kafr Moussaed, the soldiers entered the said village, and also in the villages of Choubra-El-Charkieh and Kafr-El-Hagga, as well as in the hamlets that depend upon them. They compelled the whole masculine population to appear and condemned them to be flogged on the stomach and on the back. In spite of the absolute prohibition against travelling, some of the victims whose state was not serious, were able to flee to Cairo and were there shown to physicians who took the necessary evidence. Photographs of these poor men have been taken. (See Annex No. 2 and photographs attached to Annex No. 11.)

(c) In the district of Kafr-El-Charkieh, the British authorities made the use of the whip a regular thing, and forced the mayors to furnish men to be flogged. (See Letter of the Prefect of Bargieh to the Minister of the Interior, Annex No. 12.)

II

The above résumé of established facts is gleaned from the memorials of the complainants, police registers, the correspondence of the Ministry of the Interior, telegrams we were able to get copies of, and official *procès-verbaux.* We have simply wanted to indicate the sad situation reserved for the Egyptian people by the English authorities. The whole of Egypt rejects the British domination. The unanimous will of an entire people, homogeneous and having the ethnological conditions necessary to form once more its national unity, is the best proof that the people are worthy of independence. Egypt cannot hereafter accept foreign domination. It will be a crying injustice if the Conference sanctions the loss of the autonomy we acquired a hundred years ago. And for what

motives? And as punishment of what crime? Have we not been the defenders of the cause of the Allies? Have not the Allies recognized the right of all who participated in the sacrifices of the war to participate in the advantages of the victory?

We demand only the right to live. In virtue of what laws or of what principles of politics and morality should we be rewarded for the aid we have furnished the victors by the application of the treatment worse than that inflicted upon the vanquished enemies? Is it conceivable that the Egyptian people can be treated like ordinary merchandise in the political market, and this in the twentieth century by the will of a Conference that has not ceased to proclaim as its *raison d'être* the liberation of small nationalities and the laying down of world-wide conditions which will ensure a durable peace?

No, however dark may be her fate, whatever may be the disastrous consequences of the domination of the stronger, the people of the Pharoahs, whose high civilization dates from the most ancient times, will not despair either of the sympathy of the civilized world or of the sympathy of liberal England. We have twice been the cradle of civilization; our name lives forever illustrious in the history of human beliefs; we have contributed to the knowledge of the mathematical and physical sciences; our great history has incited the research scholars of the entire world to penetrate the mysteries of papyrus and hieroglyphics; and our monuments will remain in the far-distant future what they have been for thousands of years, the marvel of archeologists. We shall not despair of finding learned men to listen to our appeal, honest men to have pity on our fate, and statesmen to work, in the name of justice, for freedom for Egypt. Do you believe

that our independence and our self-respect are less precious to us than your independence and your self-respect are to you?

In view of these considerations, we have the right to count on the equity of the Peace Conference. As the principal aim of the Peace Conference is to prepare a durable peace, we hope that our case will be re-examined, and that we shall be invited to present the wishes of the people of Egypt. In this way will acts be brought into agreement with principles. In this way alone will the Allied and Associated Powers arrive at the peace they desire to attain.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

AMERICAN SENATE

1. Telegram, dated May 16, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to the American Senate.

2. Telegram, dated June 8, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to the American Senate.

3. Telegram, dated June 29, 1919, addressed by the Delegation to Senator Borah.

TELEGRAM

May 16, 1919.

AMERICAN SENATE, WASHINGTON.

The Egyptian people look forward to the impartial justice of the honored representatives of the great American democracy for the attainment of their national aspirations.

The Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers has refused to apply to Egypt the principles for the realization of which the United States had entered the war. Egypt contributed generously to the success of the Allied and Associated Powers. The British protectorate, established in 1914 by the unilateral action of Great Britain and against the will of the entire Egyptian people, has been recognized by the Peace Conference without the voice of Egypt being heard, and in flagrant violation of the principles championed by liberal America through her honored President that the interest of the weaker nations was as sacred as that of the stronger. The interest of Egypt can be understood by none more than by the Egyptian people.

The decision of the Peace Conference deprives Egypt not only of her natural and legal right to independence, but also of the political status enjoyed since 1840 which gave her an absolutely free hand in the management of her internal affairs and the right to make commercial treaties with foreign countries without reference to Tur-

key, the suzerain Power. (Vice Treaty of London, 1840.)

The Peace Conference has reduced instead of increased those privileges which Egypt enjoyed throughout the greater part of the last century.

The present unrest in Egypt signifies a deep-rooted desire on the part of the Egyptian people for the independence of their country, an independence in which the interest of the foreign dwellers in Egypt will be more scrupulously regarded than was hitherto the case.

Are the American people prepared to sanction this judgment of the Peace Conference which is the moral death warrant of more than thirteen million people, whose forefathers contributed so much to human knowledge and civilization, and whose efforts in this world war have been, in the language of General Allenby, "responsible to a very large extent for the decisive victory in the east"? Is it conceivable that the Egyptian people who have sacrificed so much for the victory of "liberty and justice," should now be treated as a saleable property and chattels to be transferred from one hand to another?

The principles for the realization of which the United States entered the war found in the Valley of the Nile such a fertile soil that, during the manifestations, the faint but firm cry of those who fell victims to the bullets of the British troops in Cairo and provincial towns, was invariably, "Vive Wilson! Vive l'Amérique!"

In the name of the entire Egyptian people, I beg to protest against Article 147 of the Treaty of Versailles which violates human rights and American principles for the attainment of a just and lasting peace.

(Signed) Saad Zagloul,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

TELEGRAM

June 8, 1919.

AMERICAN SENATE, WASHINGTON.

The Austrian delegates are called upon by the Conference of the Allied and Associated Powers to recognize the British protectorate over Egypt. The Egyptian people have neither asked for nor accepted this protectorate which the Conference has imposed upon them without hearing the voice of their authorized representatives, and in flagrant contradiction of American principles.

As a result of this decision of the Conference, a policy of systematic revenge is being pursued by Great Britain in Egypt. Atrocities, hardly less inhuman than those for the suppression of which the United States entered the world war, are being committed by the British military authorities because the Egyptians have dared to demand their political freedom.

In the name of humanity and in the name of the entire Egyptian people, I beg to protest against such a decision, taken without the voice of the people concerned being heard. In their struggle for the political emancipation of their country, the Egyptian people rely upon the help of the freedom-loving people of America.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

TELEGRAM

June 29, 1919.

SENATOR BORAH, WASHINGTON.

In the name of humanity and justice and in the name of the entire Egyptian people, whom I have the honor to represent, I thank you most sincerely for your kind reference to Egypt. We, who have fought side by side with the Allies, who have sacrificed so heavily for what we considered the cause of liberty and justice, have been denied a hearing in the Peace Conference, contrary to the principles for the realization of which America entered the war. The sons of the Pharoahs have, therefore, been treated as a saleable property and chattels. The Egyptians rely upon the support of the freedom-loving American people for the realization of the national aspirations of a people who have been condemned unheard to permanent servitude.

(Signed) SAAD ZAGLOUL,
President of the Egyptian Delegation.

APPENDIX

Twelve Annexes, containing official documents, etc., to substantiate the charges of cruelty and arson and atrocities, made against the British troops in Egypt by the Egyptian Delegation, in its letter of June 28, 1919, to M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference. These Annexes were appended to the letter in question when it was handed in at the Secretariat of the Peace Conference.

ANNEX NO. 1

A

GUIZEH

Provincial Council

Special Meeting Held Wednesday, 8th Ragab, 1337.
(April 9th, 1919.)

A Special Provincial Council Meeting was opened at half-past two P.M. at the town-hall under the Presidency of his Excellency Ahmed Hamdy Bey Seif El Naar, Moudir of Guizeh, and President of the Provincial Council, and in presence of the Members Fadl El Zumour Bey, Abdel Wahed El Kott Bey, Hussein Chorab Bey, Ahmed El Milehib Bey, Bayoumi Medkour Eff. Sayed Dwedar Eff. Mahomed Mansour Eff., and the Secretary Amine Fahmy Ahmed Eff. Saad Bey Makram absent without excusing himself.

The President: "The honourable members Fadl El Zoumir Bey, Abdel Wahed El Kott Bey, Ahmed Mileiki Bey and Bayoumi Madkour Eff Counsellors, have asked, in conformity with article 49 of the Organic Law, to convene a special meeting of Counsellors. We have invited the Committee to declare which subjects of importance are to be discussed."

Ahmed El Muleki Bey: "The Honourable Members of the Chamber did not meet to-day to discuss ordinary subjects such as decisions made by the Educational Committee, authorization to construct a new village, or the propositions of the Dispensary Directors. We are here to bring to the notice of our responsible chiefs and to the Egyptian Representative Court the abominable atrocities to which your Province has been subjected and of which the horror grasps the heart, as if in a vise, and makes

tremble with indignation every being capable of feeling or reasoning.

"The actual events, world-wide known, have permitted the population to manifest its natural sentiments, not moved by a love of destruction or theft, as has been pretended, but by a noble aspiration to a new life like that of the free peoples with which it has been in frequent and close relations. Some thought they were voicing this sentiment when they pulled up a few railway lines, not for the sake of pillage but in the hopes of drawing attention to their just aspirations.

"Far be it from me to condone with such acts, but I want to precise that the persons accused of having destroyed these lines did not mean theft or pillage. They only wanted their voices heard after having assured themselves that the voices of the *élite* and those of the Egyptian leaders had been smothered.

"Besides, these acts have not ceased with the General's Proclamation menacing with severe punishment those who attacked the railways. But, are there not in both Human and Divine Laws other punishments than rape, arson and confiscation of property, punishments which have been meted out to our Province, and of which we know from complaints addressed to the Mayor and Councillors by the victims themselves?

"I declare without fear that the atrocities committed by the British troops will leave a stain that nothing can efface and I also declare that the Liberal British public will not hesitate in condemning them. Now that you are in Council you must do your duty to those who have elected you. Address your protestations to the Government Chiefs and to the British political agents. Address them to the Egyptian Constituted Corps, once for all, to put an end to these atrocities.

"We are here the representatives of 550 thousand inhabitants. We know their aspirations. Proclaim and discuss them with the competent authorities to accomplish our duty towards our Electors.

"We shall now read the Protestation which my colleagues and I have compiled. This is the only means at the disposition of the country to voice its aspirations, the Legislative Assembly being suspended and the country having no other representative court than the Provincial Councils. It is within our power, in

our quality of members of one of these Corps to make this protestation."

The reading of this Protestation was ordered and presented by the Orator and signed by every member present. The reading was as follows:

PROTESTATION

Some inhabitants of our Province have presented to us, as members of the Provincial Council, complaints about atrocities and crimes committed in certain villages against every principle of morality and humanity. It is our duty, as representatives, to consider these complaints and to communicate them to the competent authorities. These complaints come from broken hearts. They express the sufferings which these people have felt, but we have momentarily restrained ourselves from interfering, in the hope that the competent authorities would accord them the just and sage measures which they merit. However, before the incompetence of those in power, it seems necessary for us to carry, through the "Vox Populi," our adhesion in this cause. These complaints resume themselves in burning, pillaging, shooting and raping of our women, in our villages by day and night, in killing or confiscating our cattle.

Official inquiries have been made and witnesses will swear to what has happened, will swear to the atrocities of Embabeh, Azizieh, Bedrechein and Nazelet El Shobak. It is regrettable that official versions (contrary to truth and in contradiction with inquiries), made by officers accompanying British troops, have been sent in and approved by their Chiefs. We were told that the atrocities constituted a punishment inflicted upon us for the destruction committed by the inhabitants, either through theft or pillage.

But, facts are there to confirm that neither theft nor pillage was the motive for these acts. The people, seeing that their delegates had no voice, wanted their voices heard by the Liberal Nations. Nations inferior in civilization and culture to Egypt were allowed to assert their complete independence in the Peace Conference. The ideals of the Egyptian Nation are so legiti-

mate, their manifestation so pacific, that we cannot conceive for a moment any opposition to their realization. We Egyptians cannot conceive any other ideal than a free and completely independent Egypt, and we hope to see this ideal realized and all that impedes this realization abolished.

The President: "Recognizing that the events of Embabeh, Azizieh, Bedrechein and Nazelet El Shobak constitute acts of absolute barbarism, I wish to inform you that the inquiries made were directed by the Chief of Public Security, and I have every confidence that these inquiries have been strictly made. These atrocities, committed in my Province and without my knowledge, are wounding to my dignity and humiliating to my person. Hence, I declare that if I am not satisfied with the inquiries made I shall most strongly protest, whatever the result may be."

Ahmed El Meligi, thanking the President, adds that in spite of his Excellency's protestations, the official documents relating to these acts are not in conformity with the inquiries made by the Moudirieh.

The President: "It has come to my knowledge that an inquiry was opened against the officer who had made out that report to which you allude and another officer put in his place."

Ahmed El Meligi Bey: "I hope that by force of the new inquiry a communication will be made which will establish the truth, known to every one."

The President: "I hope so.

Mahomed Eff. Mansour Attalah: "Two days after the events in Nazalet El Chobak, the inhabitants were still able to point to the bodies of the victims in the cornfields and canals. No estimation can be made of all the animals destroyed. The maize which was on the roofs of the houses had been sprinkled with benzine and burned. Thus, the entire harvest of the peasantry had been destroyed."

Ahmed Bey El Meligi, speaking about the incident of the British military Commandant sending troops into absolutely tranquil districts in which not one act of infraction against the law could be noted, said: "As you know, President, no acts of destruction have been committed in the district of El Saff, yet troops have been sent there. As these troops speak English

only and the inhabitants only Arabie, misunderstandings are always happening. In my capacity as Delegate, I protest against the occupation of this region by the said troops in order to avoid excesses which have occurred in other districts and against which we have made a written protestation. I invite the Council to adopt this motion."

Fadl Bey El Zoumour: "Yesterday at Embabeh, while travellers in a train waved flags as a sign of joy and contentment that the Egyptian Delegates were at last allowed to leave for Europe, the British troops fired on them, killing two people. I energetically protest against these odious crimes which happen repeatedly."

Abdul Warik Bey El Kott, Mahomed Eff. Mansour Attalah: "We have learned that a court-martial was sitting at this moment at Ayat. This Court had full competence and could inflict the severest penalties, even capital punishment and flagellation. This Court does not comprise one Egyptian member. The innocent risk condemnation, as very often judgment is based on false testimony. We ask that immediate steps be taken to suspend this Court until the actual situation is cleared and regulated in conformity with the declarations of the Commander in Chief."

Abdel Wahed Bey El Kott: Protests against the arrest of the Mayor of Nazalet El Chobak and asks the President to use his influence to have him liberated, in spite for his family, of which six members had been shot by British troops. He also protested against the unconstitutional manner in which the budget of 1919–1920 had been approved and the inexistence of a ministry for a period of several months as well as the occupation by British troops of El Ayat, where atrocities, such as were committed at Embabeh, Azizieh and Nazalet El Chobak, might possibly occur. He hopes that in the near future a ministry will be formed which will secure the return to a normal state and the re-establishment of justice and legality.

AFTER DELIBERATION

In conformity with article 36 of the Organic Law, the Council decides to accept all protestations formulated in this summons and to communicate the contents to his Highness the Sultan and

the Government Chiefs and the Egyptian Official Corps. Reading of this Summons has been made at this Session and has been unanimously approved. The President closed the Session at 12.30 P.M.

Moudir of Guizeh, Seif El Nasr
Secretary of the Council.
A. F. AHMAD.

B

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF GIZA:

I, the undersigned, Ibrahim Rashdam, Omdeh of Azizia, have the honour to submit the following to your notice:

On Tuesday, March 25th, 1919, at 4 A. M., I was awakened by ten British armed soldiers knocking at my door. They were under the command of two officers, who had revolvers in their hands.

They were accompanied by an Egyptian corporal, a soldier, and an interpreter.

The interpreter told me to hand over my weapons and to collect all arms in the village within a quarter of an hour.

I surrendered my revolver, and no sooner had I done so than the soldiers rushed into my bedroom where my wife and three children were, and frightened them terribly. The officers and men broke open a wardrobe and jewelry-box and took the contents, as well as a wallet containing fifty pounds. They subjected my wife and the children to the most brutal and insulting treatment, even snatching my eldest child's (8 years) earrings with such a violence as to wound the ear.

They then went to another wing of the house where my sons' families live and treated them in the same brutal way; the officers looking on and even taking part with astounding coolness, notwithstanding the pleading of the women and children. They found a safe in my son's apartments and they threatened to kill me if I did not instantly open it. They found nine hundred

and fifty sovereigns, and my wife's and my son's wives' jewelry which they took.

They then ordered me to direct them to the homes of the neighbouring Sheikhs. These homes and those of other prosperous inhabitants were subjected to the same treatment as mine with varying degrees of violence.

The interpreter informed the people that the British were going to burn the village, and ordered the inhabitants to leave their homes as soon as possible. Men, women and children hurried away, carrying what they could.

The village was surrounded by soldiers who took everything from these unfortunates while leaving the village.

They subjected the women to the most shameful treatment, but the fellaheen (peasants) hide these details for the sake of their women's reputation. Cases of rape have taken place.

From a neighbouring Sheikh's house I saw the flames rising from my roof; I learned that the troops had set fire to it. Every quarter of the village met with the same fate. A sacred banner embroidered with the Moslem formula of faith was desecrated.

All the Sheikhs were arrested and brought to where I was, the assistant Sheikh Ghafir (head night watchman) was also arrested, his house plundered, and his wife grossly insulted. The troops collected the poultry and killed them. They then took the above mentioned Sacred banner and obliged the assistant Sheikh Ghafir to carry it.

A procession was formed to proceed to Hawamdieh and whenever the troops found our pace too slow (we were mostly elderly men) they urged us on with the points of their bayonets. We were not allowed to ride, and as the sun had by now reached its zenith, our sufferings were terrible. One soldier took pleasure in photographing us in this pitiful condition.

We arrived at Hawamdieh police station about noon. There we found the Mayor of Bedreshin and one of his Sheikhs. They informed us of the terrible treatment which their village and the inhabitants had received. We remained for some time under the burning sun with dust blowing, facing the British cannon and surrounded by armed troops.

We were all taken to an inn belonging to the sugar factory. There we found thirty officers and a president.

Abdul Medjid Effendi Tharwat, the mulahez (police officer with the rank of lieutenant), brought us before them. The senior officer spoke and said, "I am about to inform you of the crime with which you are charged—Azizia is guilty in so much as a British officer has been beaten by some of its inhabitants. This officer was on his way to the Pyramids of Saccara, whither he was bound with other officers. The joint crime of both villages is, as I learned at Cairo, the participation of the inhabitants in the burning of the Hawamdieh and Bedrechein railway stations."

I told the officer that I, with my family, the Mulahez Mustafa Effendi and the people of the village were guarding the factory during the recent outbreak. I was risking my life in this task. The Mulahez (police officer) by whose side I was standing was wounded by a bullet. I also told the officer that he could make inquiries through the Mulahez, the Mamour (District Governor) or the manager and employees of the factory. But the senior officer would not accept my statement. In truth these two villages took no part in the destruction of the railway-lines, and as far as could be ascertained this destruction was the work of strangers. The burning of the stations of Giza took place several days before the proclamation of the General Commanding Officer. I can vouch that no one from our village touched an officer.

The senior officer then ordered us to collect all arms in the village or he would burn it, and we should share the same fate. He furthermore informed us that henceforth disobedience meant capital punishment. He wrote the following in English and ordered the "Mulahez" to translate it into Arabic. It read as follows: "We, the Omdehs and Sheikhs of Azizia and Bedrechein, express our regret at the destruction of railways and the attack made on the soldiers of the British Empire, and we admit that the fate which befell our villages is just and proper; and we are prepared to offer any number of men necessary, as refusal would mean court-martial."

The Mulahez assured us that if we did not comply and sign this document we should be instantly shot, and we realized that from previous atrocities we had witnessed this would be our fate. As we were in front of the guns and surrounded by armed

troops, we signed. The Mulahez assured us that he was forcibly obliged to attach his signature to this document.

We then started for the Mudirieh of Giza (Provincial Governor officer) where we entered a verbal complaint to his Excellency the Mudir. From there we went to Cairo and complained to the Mustachar (the English adviser to the ministry).

The next day the Mamour-El-Dabt (head officer for public security) took our evidence officially in his report of investigation. He interrogated the Egyptian corporal who accompanied the Forces which attacked Azizia and his evidence corroborated mine. He furthermore stated that he had seen British soldiers wearing our jewelry and offering same to the passers-by for sale.

On returning to my home village I found about one hundred and eighty houses burned and most of the inhabitants left. I found my sister grievously ill as a result of the torture she had undergone. All that remained of my home was a few mats. I then took my family away to a distant village.

It is impossible for me to recount all the atrocities and chain of horrors from which unfortunate Azizia suffered, but I will mention the case of the Ghafir Abdulla Mohammed whose house the soldiers entered, took the little money there was in it, and also his wife's jewelry. They undressed his wife and touched her indecently, and in spite of her cries for mercy, they beat her with the butts of their rifles. They finished by setting fire to his house.

The Ghafir, Mahmoud Abdel Aal, stated that the soldiers took away his rifle, ransacked his house, took all the money, and his wife's jewelry. His wife had luckily run away and had hidden herself in the corn fields. Otherwise, she would have been grossly insulted as were all other women who passed through the British soldiers' hands.

His house was completely burned down. I have been an eyewitness of what has been done to the homes of the Sheikhs and other inhabitants. They entered the house of Sheikh Mahmoud Orkby (I was with them under guard), took his money and all the jewelry they could put their hands on. The Sheikh estimated the loss at about 500 pounds. They burned his clothes, as well as his wife's and the children's, and he and his family

are at present wearing borrowed garments. He was then arrested, and, with me, taken to Hawamdieh.

I am suffering from nervous shock in consequence of the treatment to which I was subjected and am extremely weak. I am now staying at Cairo after having sent my resignation to the Mudiria.

(Signed) IBRAHIM DESOUKY RASHDAM.

C

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF GUIZEH:

I, the undersigned, Mahmoud Mansour El D'Ali, Omdeh (Mayor) of Bedrechein, have the honour to bring to your notice the following:

On Tuesday, March the 25th, 1919, at 4.30 A.M. my house was attacked by 40 British soldiers accompanied by an officer and an Egyptian police officer, Abdul Meguid Eff. Sarwat. The officer ordered me to be arrested and disarmed. The soldiers entered my bedroom, where they found my wife, my daughters and daughters-in-law. From the room in which I was held, I could hear their cries and sounds of struggling. Their distress was heart-breaking. I wanted to fly to succour them, but was immobilized by a stroke from the butt of a rifle. The British officer searched in another wing of the house and came back with two rifles, one belonging to me and the other to the native village policeman.

Having obtained permission to dress, I entered my room where I found the women, trembling with fear and indignation at the ignominious treatment which they had received from the soldiers. They then commanded me to indicate five neighbouring Sheikhs' houses. I was with my two sons, and in the house of one of these Sheikhs we were searched and our money and watches taken. When the British officer was leaving the premises, I asked the Egyptian interpreter to translate my complaints. He answered in Arabic: "Mafiche foulouss!"

Other troops pillaged the village while I, with my sons and other Sheikhs' sons, were conducted to the police station of Bedrechein, from where I saw the flames mount from homesteads and heard the cries of distress, interrupted by the noise of a fusillade. I did not know which houses were burning nor which victims were cut down by bullets. But, on returning to Hawamdieh, I learned that there were many. A list of these are:

1. Ibrahim Atwa El Dali, my cousin, was killed by a bullet in his home, after having been divested of his money.
2. Abdal Gawad Sayed Marsouf was shot in his house, his head cut off, and the soldiers amused themselves with it as if with a ball.
3. Ibrahim Said Refai was shot.
4. Alia, wife of Hassanein El Gazzar (blind), was victim of an attempt to rape. She defended herself admirably and her honour is intact, but she was beaten with the butts of rifles, and her jewelry taken from her. The report says that she suffered terribly.
5. Mahomed Aboulel Dia was wounded in the arm by a bullet. I learnt that he had to have it amputated next day, and that his condition of health has become, in consequence, extremely grave.
6. Ali El Sayed El Dali had a bullet right through his body, but fortunately was not killed.
7. Ahmed Hammad was beaten with butts of rifles until he lost consciousness. His money was taken, and he suffers from a severe wound in the head.
8. El Sayed Mahommed Kagha was wounded seriously in the chest by bayonet thrusts.

Groups of soldiers arrived with booty. Two of them tarried in the village. The British officer charged an Egyptian officer to find them, and while waiting officers and soldiers divided the spoil between them. On the arrival of the two soldiers, the British detachment left for Hawamdieh, leaving us at Bedrechein, but ordered the British officer to conduct us to Hawamdieh. We arrived at half-past six, and we were ushered, with the Mayor of Azizieh and his Sheikhs, into the presence of thirty

British officers, of which the Chief imputed to us actions to which we were absolute strangers; the entire truth being that my village was not guilty of any crime nor of destruction of any kind. On the contrary, it was the soldiers who attacked us. I was even so tolerant that sometime before the general rising a British officer, who was charged to collect corn, menaced to shoot me, as I was slow (he said) in obeying orders. I simply turned his arm down. He burned my house and placing himself under my protection, he coolly counted the sacks of corn as if nothing had occurred.

This happened in the presence of an Egyptian sergeant of Bedrechein. I immediately sent in a complaint by telegram to the Moudirieh, the Ministry of the Interior, and the General Commanding the British Forces, relating these facts.

Coming back from Hawamdieh with my son, I was met by the inhabitants who recounted their miseries. Many of them had determined to emigrate, and others had already done so. A great many of the women had miscarriages. I found my wife suffering from a nervous commotion, crying and complaining without ceasing. I found my daughter ill in bed.

I cannot describe the innumerable atrocities committed in my village. One example will suffice: One of the Sheikhs of the village, Mahommed Abdel Mettalib, had his home broken into by British soldiers who were not accompanied by an officer. They took all the money he possessed, about 700 pounds. They ill-treated his wife and they snatched all her jewelry brutally. They then divided the booty under the eyes of their victims.

In the case of Soliman Ghattas, they were not satisfied with taking his money and jewelry. They even shot his cattle. We complained at the Moudirieh. Ibrahim Bey Dessouki Abaza, Mamour Zapt, opened an inquiry. The police officer testified in our favour and confirmed the terrible truth. He declared that he had been an eyewitness to cases of cold murder, arson, pillage, rape and illtreatment of women, and that the British troops illtreated him when he protested. He added that the officers did not mind these atrocities committed under their eyes, and even sometimes took part in them. They even made them sign the engagement, which they forced from us under menace of being accomplices.

The troops did not even spare the police-sergeant of Bedrechein charged to accompany them. In spite of his uniform, they violated his home and took the little money he had. He had been eye-witness to the pillaging of houses which were set fire to by incendiary bombs and the shooting of the proprietors who protested. He also related the sad story of Aliah, wife of Sheikh Massanein El Gazzar, whom they tried to rape, and who, in defending her honour, was stunned by blows from the butts of the rifles. The three policemen, under sergeant's orders, complained of their houses being pillaged, their money stolen, and their wives being insulted and illtreated.

My village is now a desert, and it is impossible for me to exercise my functions. I have, therefore, given in my resignation.

MAHOMMED MANZOUR EL DALI,
Mayor of Bedrechein.

D

GUIZEH

REQUEST ADDRESSED BY THE INHABITANTS OF NAZZALET EL CHOBAK (AYAT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF GUIZEH).

Gentlemen:

We address our complaints to you on the subject of the misfortunes which have happened to our village. In the name of Justice, of which we have elected you the guardians, we appeal to you to come to our aid and to put a stop to these atrocities.

On the 30th of March, 1919, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the British troops arrived here in an armed train. A squadron armed with rifles, descended, and with looks of hate and vengeance on their countenances, they showed by every sign their desire to destroy. They commenced by killing poultry, but unhappily their hate did not stop there. They violated our women. Can human mind imagine a woman being violated, calling to her

husband to succour her, and seeing him murdered under her eyes?

Imagine the village surrounded by soldiers, who set fire to it and then shot any poor unfortunate who tried to escape. Imagine the terrible carnage and atrocities which lasted the whole night and the next morning, and in which the peasantry working in far off fields were even struck by bullets fired in their village.

Where is the conscience which will not revolt in hearing of how the English summoned, under the pretext of Peace negotiations, the village Sheikh and his two sons, buried them up to the chest and then shot and disfigured them?

They arrested our Mayor. We know not what has become of him. We have heard said that he was last seen at Ayat, surrounded by armed soldiers. We want to know his fate.

The burning of our village lasted till the next day. One hundred and forty houses have been destroyed. (The village only counts two hundred and ten.) There were 21 people killed and twelve wounded. A great quantity of cattle were destroyed. Money and jewelry, clothing and furniture were stolen.

Bear witness to our misfortune, before God, your conscience and Justice.

(Signed) Mahommed Ahmed Gomah,

Abdel Latif Abdoul Magd,

Abdel Abou Toulba.

April 7th, 1919.

ANNEX NO. 2

A

TELEGRAM SENT TO THE MOUDIRIEH, DATED 1ST APRIL, 1919, BY THE POLICE OFFICER OF MAZONNA (GUIZEH)

Yesterday when the train arrived near the village of Chobak, British soldiers descended therefrom and entered the village. necessaries in the village. Some disagreement occurred between them and the inhabitants. We were informed by the Commandant in Charge of the train that the inhabitants had fired on the soldiers and that the latter were obliged to use their arms. The result was that a few soldiers were wounded while ten inhabitants were killed and twelve wounded. Several houses were burnt. We telephoned to the Markaz yesterday. A train left here yesterday for Ayat. We shall send in a full report of what happens.

(Signed) EL-SAWL-EL TAHER,
Moulahiz of police of the village of Mazonna.

B

TO THE GOVERNOR OF GUIZEH

On Sunday evening, 30th of March, 1919, an announced train arrived in the village of El Chobak, carrying British soldiers charged to repair the railway lines. Immediately on leaving the train, the soldiers commenced by seizing fowl, sheep and other property of the inhabitants. Nobody opposed them as they were all armed. Not content with this, they began to insult grossly the women. One woman, whose husband tried to protect her

from their revolting behaviour, had a quarrel with them. As a result the soldiers encircled the village, and set fire to it on every side. Those who tried to escape were shot.

The soldiers then ordered the Sheikhs and other notabilities of the village to follow them and explain to the Commander of the train their case. But these poor people were strangled and buried upright and their heads covered over by grass. This carnage and burning continued from Sunday at 3 o'clock P.M. until Monday morning at 10 A.M. Those of the inhabitants who had so far escaped death were driven to the train. Amongst them was the Mayor.

The police officer (Moulahiz) came to intercede for the women. He had just entered the village when he heard the cries of a woman imploring help. When he arrived on the scene, he perceived three soldiers violating her.

This officer states that the number of killed during these events was twenty-one and the wounded twelve. As well as this, 144 houses were burnt. The number of animals killed was 55, besides a large number that were stolen.

These acts are certainly not of a nature to satisfy Humanity and the civilized people of the World. We transmit to them and to every heart that contains a sentiment of pity, the lamentations of our widows, orphans, the old and infirm. We, the inhabitants and notabilities of the village of Chobak, cry to the World against the atrocious crimes of which we have been the victims.

If there be no one to protect us or to render us justice, if this reign of terror is to continue, then we shall be obliged to leave Egypt, which is becoming a center of Anarchy. No power can protect the innocent from their oppressors. Henceforth, we shall trust in God alone.

(Follow twenty signatures and stamps of the notabilities of the village.)

C

PROCLAMATION BY THE MAMOUR ZAPT (INSPECTOR OF PUBLIC SECURITY OF THE PROVINCE), OF THE VILLAGE MOUDIRIEH, WHICH WAS PUBLISHED AT 10 A.M., MARCH 31ST, 1919, AND WHICH STATED THE FOLLOWING:

On this day, Mohammed Mansour El-Vali, Omdeh (Mayor) of Bedrechein, presented himself before us and related the following facts. He demanded that his declaration should be officially recognised:

"On the first interrogation to which I was subjected, I had no knowledge of what had occurred, but the day before yesterday, on arriving in the village, a man named Salem Hassanein El-Gazzar, told me that British soldiers had entered the home of his brother, the Sheikh Hassanein El Gazzar, who is a blind man. They had pillaged the house and one of the soldiers had tried to assault his wife in an indecent manner. She resisted so violently that her honour was preserved, but seeing this the soldier then struck her with the butt of his gun. She was so terribly hurt that she died a few hours after. This victim's name is Alia.

"British soldiers also entered the house of Soliman Ghattas, took his money and jewels, and shot a buffalo belonging to him."

The reading of this declaration was signed and approved.

MOHAMMED MANSOUR EL DALI.

Finished the same day at 10 A.M.

Signed:

MAMOUR ZAPT IBRAHIM EL DESSOUKI.

D

In conformity with the Moudir's orders the Moulahiz of El Hawamdieh and also those of the villages of Bachawich and El Ombachi are to be called to give their declarations.

Signed:

ABOYA.

E

Declaration of the Chief of Police of the Guizeh District

A meeting was held on the 1st of April, 1919. Proceedings commenced at 12.30 P.M. The Chief of Police of the District of Guizeh made the following declaration:

"On the 25th of March, 1919, an Australian officer, Major in the British Army, presented himself at my home, and asked to speak to me. I came down to see him. He intimated to me to put on my uniform, as I was to accompany him with the military police on a patrol which he wished to make.

"I acceded to his desire, and called the Ombachi Moustapha Issa and three soldiers, and went with them. We found a patrol beside the station with about two hundred soldiers. These the Mayor divided into sections, one destined for the village, the other for the village of Bedrechein.

"The Major then asked me to accompany him to the latter village and to send a man to indicate the road to Azizeh. I therewith asked him what was the object in having these two large armed forces marching to these villages. He replied that he had been informed that there were concealed large quantities of arms and explosives in both localities, and that he was going to find out the truth of this. We arrived at the village of Bedrechein at about 4.30 A. M. The Major then asked that the Omdeh's (Mayor's) house be pointed out to him. As soon as we got to it and the door opened, the soldiers rushed into the house. I asked the Major why this was being done and he answered me: 'To search for arms.' I questioned the Mayor as to what arms he possessed, and he gave up his gun immediately, saying that he had no others. Meanwhile the soldiers were searching throughout the house for arms and found two rifles. These, however, belonged to two discharged policemen who had not yet been replaced.

"On leaving the house the Omdeh showed me a broken chain from which a watch had been stolen and told me that many other acts of pillage had taken place in his home. In the mean-

time some of the soldiers were still in the house and we could hear the inhabitants crying for help. I drew the Major's attention to this, but he only shrugged his shoulders. The Mayor as well as his two sons were then conducted under arrest to the house of Sheikh Mahomed Sayed Hamaa. Here the soldiers conducted themselves in the same way, although the Sheikh gave up his gun immediately. They were again given the order to search the whole house for arms.

"This Major next gave orders that all the houses were to be searched in this way and asked me to accompany him to the railway station to verify the damages there. We heard shots and cries of distress from the village. I left the Major to go and see what was happening. Every one I met told me of the robbery and violences they had been subjected to, and bore visible traces of the ill-treatment they had received. One man told me that his brother had been killed because he had refused to give up the money which he had on him. I saw his dead body on the ground very disfigured and with his clothes torn, all of which bore testimony to the truth of what this man had stated.

"I also saw four houses in flames. Their doors had been forced open and everything robbed. These fires were activated by the soldiers. I met some Australian officers while crossing the village and I told them what their soldiers had done. They denied all knowledge of these acts and spoke to me in a most menacing tone.

"Many women showed me their hands full of scratches, caused by the violence with which their jewelry had been torn from them. I saw soldiers stuffing their pockets with jewels, bank-notes and cigarettes.

"When the troops had retired I returned to Bedrechein with the Mayor, his sons, and the Sheikh. I had to give a solemn promise that they would return next day. On my return to Hawamdieh, I was called by the Colonel commanding the locality. He told me to bring the Mayor and Sheikh of Bedrechein. When I came back with them, we found with the Colonel also, the Mayor of Azizia with his Sheikhs. The Colonel then told me to translate to them all assembled what he was about to say, which was to the effect that the crimes imputed to the two villages punished were the destruction of the railway lines and

the storing by the inhabitants of arms and explosive matter. Also that the inhabitants were guilty of neglect in not restraining those among them who had assaulted Australian officers and other people who were on their way to the Pyramids, of sakkarah. One of the officers assaulted, he said, was in danger of death.

"He added that as soon as the railway lines were repaired he would oblige the inhabitants to guard them and would requisition as many men as he thought fit for this purpose. Furthermore, they must all sign a declaration to the effect that they recognised the justice of the punishment meted out to those villages and that they were ready to furnish as many men, free of charge, as were necessary to guard the railways. If they would sign this document, he would grant a free pardon, if not, they exposed themselves to death.

"This declaration was made out in English and when I had translated it he presented it to the Omdeh and Sheikhs to sign and then asked me to sign it as a witness. I said that I would have nothing to do with the matter and that the others had only signed under pressure. He got very angry and menaced me, saying that if I did not sign he would consider me an accomplice in the destruction of the railways. As there was no way of escape I signed.

"When this was over he ordered us all to leave. On returning home I met the Ombachi Moustapha Issa, who came from Azizia. He told me that the state of things in that village was indescribable. The soldiers pillaged, destroyed or stole everything they could lay their hands on, after which they burnt the houses. They had acted in this way in the house of the Omdeh, even though he had immediately given up his arms. With revolvers cocked they had obliged him to give over the key of his safe which they rifled. He was then thrown out through a window and his house set on fire.

"Yesterday while I was at the police station I saw soldiers exchanging pieces of gold for banknotes and the same for silver and nickel. I also saw in their possession quantities of stolen jewels which they offered for sale.

"On the 25th of March I saw about 40 geese in the possession of Australian soldiers. These geese were stolen at Azizia. I

even noted that some geese were served at the officers' mess, presided by the Commanding Colonel himself.

"Acts of violence were so numerous that it would be impossible to relate them in detail. The inhabitants of these villages are most peaceful and all that has happened was brought about by the desire of some of the soldiers to obtain all they possibly could without paying."

Read and approved.

Signed: ABEL MEGUID SAROIT.

F

DECLARATION OF SERGEANT-MAJOR OF BEDRECHEIN POLICE STATION

The "Bachawiche" of the Bedrechein police-station was interrogated and declared the following:

"My name is Bilal Abdella, Bachawiche of Bedrechein. My home is situated near the police station of this village and I was there at about 5 A.M. when I heard a troop of British soldiers going towards the station. I dressed and went down. I found soldiers guarding the whole village. When they perceived my uniform, three of them, who were armed, surrounded me. Two others searched and took everything away from two passers-by whom I knew; one named El Sayed Mahomed Choucri, merchant, whose watch they stole.

"At the same time the station Moulahiz arrived with three officers and some soldiers bringing with them the Omdeh of Bedrechein and his Sheikh. They left them at the police station. The Moulahiz ordered me to conduct another British force to search the village in order to discover any fire-arms there might be hidden there. Here the soldiers broke open the doors of the houses, stole everything they could take away with them, and snatched the women's jewels from them. They also insulted these women, making a pretext of searching to touch

them obscenely and undressing them. They had spheric bombs which they threw into the houses which they wished to set fire to. Any one who resisted them was instantly shot. In this way three men and one woman were killed, the latter by butt end of a rifle which was dealt her by a soldier whom she resisted when he tried to violate her.

"On my return home my wife informed me that the soldiers had been there too and had taken 3 pounds. They could not find her jewels. The other three policemen of this station told me that their homes had been entered, their money stolen, and their wives ill-treated. I informed the police Moulahiz. The English officer, to whom I complained of these things, took absolutely no notice of what I said."

Signed: IBRAHIM DESSOUKI ABBAZA.

Finished on the same day at
five minutes past 2 o'clock, P.M.

G

DECLARATION OF MUSTAPHA ISSA, CORPORAL AT HAWAMDIEH STATION

The meeting opened on the 2nd of April, 1919, at 12 A.M. Corporal Mustapha Issa was interrogated and declared the following:

"My name is Mustapha Issa, Ombachi, No. 9413, of the Hawamdieh station. On the 25th of March, 1919, the Moulahiez of the station ordered me to conduct Australian soldiers, numbering about 100, to Azizia. There were about 4 officers, a non-commissional officer and these were commanded by a Captain (Yousbachi). This officer asked me how many telephones there were and I told him that there were four. A negro interpreter named Abdel Latif translated what I said.

"On arriving at Azizia, the soldiers surrounded each quarter. The captain asked me to accompany him to the Omdeh's (Mayor's) house, which I did. We found the latter still in bed,

but he came as quickly as possible and gave up his revolver. The officers and four soldiers then entered his room to look for his keys but could not find them. They broke open his trunks and cupboards and took everything they could find.

"The Mayor's wife was hidden under the bed. One of the soldiers tried to pull her out but she resisted saying: 'I do not want to witness anything,' but they pulled her out and searched her and then went into another room where they took everything of value.

"After that they went to the apartments of the Mayor's second wife, who lived with her son. She tried to hide, but a soldier menaced her with the butt end of a rifle which frightened her terribly. They then mounted to the next floor where they found the safe. They asked in a threatening manner for the key. This was given up to them. One of the officers opened it and took all the money and jewels it contained, after which they broke everything in the house, carried away the silver, and left the house with one soldier to guard it.

"From there they went to the Sheikh's house and pillaged it and ill-treated the inhabitants just as they had done at the Omdeh's. Meantime the flames were rising from the latter's home and I learned that it was the soldiers who had set fire to it. They arrested the Sheikh, whom they placed beside the Omdeh. They set fire to every house they passed. The officer, through an interpreter, told the inhabitants that he would set fire to the village. They tried to escape but the soldiers fell on them and took away their belongings. The officer, himself, set the fire alight, using straw and matches. They got paraffin in one house and used it to activate the flames. Some of the inhabitants tried to extinguish the fire. To frighten them, shots were fired which, happily, hurt no one. They ordered me to say that any one who tried to extinguish the flames would be immediately shot.

"We then went to the next district where the same atrocities took place. Everywhere the Sheikhs were arrested and brought, under escort, after having their money and watches stolen. They took all the poultry and they even desecrated a sacred banner which was used for draping coffins. They put the dead fowl in it and forced the sub-chief of police to carry it thus.

They asked to indicate the road they ought to take. I accompanied them. By this time the sun had reached its zenith and we were in a critical condition. A soldier photographed us.

On the other day I hid a pair of drawers to take them to the Omdeh, as they had only allowed him to dress in a chemise and coat. The soldiers, in order to accelerate the steps of the Omdeh and his Sheikhs, pushed them at the point of the bayonet. We arrived at Hawamdieh at 12 P.M. There, the soldiers divided the booty. I did not try to rescue the villagers, as the soldiers took great pleasure in shooting.

(The remainder of this declaration is in conformity with that of the Moulahiz as to the written statement dictated and forced to be signed by the English officer.)

"The Ombachi was present. The Moulahiz explained that refusal to sign this engagement meant death and under this menace we were forced to submit. Some soldiers were offering jewels for sale, and I even saw people, through fear, buying them.

Signed: MOUSTAPHA ISSA."

Read and approved.

Finished the same day at 1.10 P.M.

ANNEX NO. 3

A

PROCES-VERBAL

SUNDAY 12 APRIL, 1919, AT 11 A.M. AT GUIZEH MUDIRIA

I, Ibrahim Dessouki Abaza, Mamour Zapt of Guizeh, herein affirm the following:

Three inhabitants of Nazlet el Shobak, namely Mohamed Ahmed Goma, Abdel Latif Abou el Magd and Abdel Halim Ibrahim Tolba, submitted a complaint to the Mudiria requesting a prompt enquiry to be instituted in connection with the atrocious actions inflicted by the British soldiers upon the village. The Mudir gave orders to have their evidences taken in a Procès-Verbal; but the general strike of employees in the Mudiria did not permit the enquiry to be commenced for some time.

To-day on my coming to the Mudiria by chance, I found some inhabitants of Nazlet el Shobak among whom there were two of the three petitioners above-mentioned viz: Abdel Latif Abou el Magd and Mahomed Ahmed Goma, and thus I began the enquiry, starting with Abdel Latif Abou el Magd the Omda's son, who stated the following:

Abdel Latif Abou el Magd, aged 25, cultivator, born and living at Nazlet et Shobak, Ayat Markaz.

Duly Sworn:

"On Sunday 30th March, 1919 a policeman came to our vil-

lage with a message from the Mulahez (Police Officer) of Mazghouna, El Sawi Eff. El Taher, informing my father of the expeeted arrival of a train conveying British soldiers to repair the Railway Line. He (the policeman) ordered us to send out 30 men to help in making the repairs. Moreover, he drew our attention to the necessity of giving every assistance to the expected forces. The Omda, then, did his best in collecting the required labourers, and together with the Sheikh and the chief guard, he advised all the inhabitants to welcome the coming soldiers and to treat them well in order to avoid unpleasant consequences. Further, a day before, all the Omdas of the villages of the neighbourhood had received instructions from the Mulahez to welcome the British soldiers in order to avoid any misunderstanding. Our Omda communicated these instructions to all of us, and we, on our part, knowing of what had happened in Aziza and Bedrechein, resolved to maintain absolute tranquillity.

"The train arrived at 4 P.M., and stopped at some distance south of the village.

"The soldiers came down and were received by the Omda, the Sheikh, the Chief-Guard, the Guards and myself. We noticed that they meant to enter the village and we feared the bad results of their so doing. The Omda, therefore, tried to convince them not to enter the village, but in vain. None of them or those with them could understand what the Omada was saying. They entered the village and installed themselves all over. They took all the geese, fowls, pigeons, lambs, etc., that they came across. I saw some of them surrounding a woman named Aziza Bint Khodeir, wife of Abdel Tawab Abdel Maksoud, shamefully touching every part of her body, and trying to violate her. She cried for her husband's help. He ran out from the house with a stick in his hand and gave the soldier who was holding his wife a blow on the head. Another soldier then fired at him, and killed him on the spot. Murmurs of rage and discontent filled the air, especially for defaming the honour of such women as Aziza and others, of whom I heard but did not see. The soldiers then began to attack the houses, killing the inhabitants, plundering everything that came under their sight, burning the buildings, animals and people and shooting every-

body who came in their way. My father, the Omda, and myself took shelter in our house till the morning. Throughout the whole night the soldiers were trying to open or break through our door in vain. Next day at about 8 A.M. the Mulahez came to our house and shouted to my father to get out. My father then opened the door and the Mulahez, together with ten British soldiers, entered our house and searched every corner of it to see whether there were arms, but they found none. They did not take anything at all from the house but took my father along with them, and the Mulahez ordered me to shut the door after him which I did. Half an hour later some soldiers climbed our neighbour's house and jumped into ours. I therefore took my younger brother, aged 16, to a room wherein we shut ourselves. The soldiers broke its door to pieces and ordered us to get out, threatening us with their rifles. They put one of them on our guard and the rest entered all the rooms of the house, breaking open our boxes and cupboards and taking away all that they found, such as jewelry and clothes. One of the soldiers cut off my robe with his bayonet and took my banknote case which contained L. E. 150 in bank notes, and some jewelry estimated at L. E. 200. Fortunately our ladies were absent that night in a neighbouring village. The soldiers, on their going out, set fire to the carpets of our waiting room. As regards my father, I heard that he had been seen at El Ayat and then at El Wasta, but nothing certain is known about him. I heard what the soldiers had done with five of the inhabitants; namely the Sheikh Abdel Ghani Ibrahim Tolba, his brother Abdel Rehim Ibrahim Tolba, his son Said Abdel Ghani Tolba, and two others viz Khafagi Marzouk and Abdel Samad el Okbi; those were all buried alive to their waists, and then shot and afterwards disfigured with the bayonets. I saw their mutilated corpses as I assisted in getting them out of the places they were buried in. A good number of animals were killed among which we lost a buffalo and a camel. 144 (One hundred and forty-four houses) out of 210 were burnt, and, to our knowledge, twenty-one persons were killed and twelve were wounded, of whom one died. It is very probable that the casualities were more than what had been discovered as most of the houses were totally burnt to ashes and it is presumed that many inhabitants were

burnt within. The survivors, at present, leave the village by night and return to it by day.

Q. "Were the soldiers armed when they first left the train? Or did some of them return to the train to get their arms?"

A. "Some of them were armed and some were not. But when the firing of those soldiers in the village was heard the train moved nearer the village, and stopped at about 30 metres from it, and the machine guns were then put in action. Fortunately the inhabitants fled to the fields and the losses did not therefore exceed the number above mentioned."

Q. "Had any of the British soldiers been killed?"

A. "As the train was very near to the village, the gunners could easily distinguish the natives on their flight from their houses and it is probable that some soldiers would have been shot in error."

G. "What is the approximate amount of your personal losses in money, jewelry, clothes, furnitures, animals, etc.?"

A. "This can be estimated at no less than L. E. 600 apart from what my father had on him, which I am ignorant of."

His statement ended, was read to him, affirmed and signed.

Mohammed Ahmed Goma—cross-examined, stated as follows: (Sgd.).

My name is Mohammed Ahmed Goma, aged 35, teacher at the Girls' school at Maniel el Rodia, born at Nazlet el Shobak, and now living at Giza.

Duly Sworn:

"On March 30th, 1919, I was at Guizeh on business concerning my profession. As soon as I heard of the event I hastened to my village (El Shobak) where I saw nothing but empty burnt houses. Not a single inhabitant was there. I went to see my own house which I found to have been completely ruined. That house was my own where I used to spend my school holidays with my family. Its furniture was burnt to ashes. The loss I have sustained is valued at L. E. 800. The items will be forwarded in a detailed list. Some of the inhabit-

ants of the village related to me the sad story of the atrocities of plunder and burning. The rumour runs that even some of the soldiers themselves were burnt in the houses. The soldiers were all the time busy killing the people and looking for victims everywhere. The survivors that the soldiers had found were ruthlessly put to death after so much torture and cruelty. Save some few men that were hiding, the village was on my visit void of native males. The whole night, the soldiers mixed with the women that remained. They shamefully attacked their chastity, and violated many of them. The reason why I do not mention particular cases is that our peasant women would never confess such shame that would leave ineffaceable marks of disgrace upon themselves and their husbands. However, special circumstances may throughout the course of this Procès-Verbal discover cases of this nature. I saw many animals killed or burnt. I heard the story of the torture and the murder of the Sheikh and four others, who were buried alive up to their waists. I heard that the soldiers during the siege of the village often stood back to back and those who faced the village had to fire at its inhabitants; while the others fired at those who were in the fields, so that six of the inhabitants of a neighbouring village (Abouragwan el Kebly) were shot."

Q. "Have you anything more to state?"

A. "No."

His statement ended, read to him, he affirmed and signed.

Sgd. .....

Mohammed Mohamed Raouf—cross-examined, stated as follows:

"My name is Mohammed Mohamed Raouf, 30 years of age, farmer, born and living at Shobak.

Duly Sworn:

"On the day of the incident I saw the Omda, the Sheikh, and the Chief Guard near the village. I learnt from them that they were expecting the arrival of a train. That train arrived and stopped at a short distance from the village. Many British Soldiers, some of whom were armed with rifles, left the train.

The Omda told them that he could execute all their demands and they need not trouble themselves. None of them replied. All the paths of the village were then crowded with them. They went on catching the fowls, geese, etc. After that I heard some cries, and hastening to see what had happened I met a person whom I asked about the cause of that tumult. He replied that the British soldiers were violating the women. Hearing the rounds I hastened to my house which stands outside the village and near the railway line. I was able to see the train plainly from my windows and I noticed that it had moved backwards to get nearer to the village; the machine guns were put in action, directed on the village. Men fled away in every direction and I saw the British soldiers rushing into the houses, rifling and plundering all the money, jewelry, clothes, furniture, etc., that they found. Whenever they plundered a house they set fire to it, using some inflammable substance the nature of which I do not know myself. I saw them with my very eyes from my house which is higher than the other houses of the village. The fire continued in the village from the time of their arrival till 8 o'clock in the morning. I knew afterwards that they took the Sheikh of the village and four others, buried them alive up to their waists, shot them, and then disfigured their corpses with their bayonets. I saw them the next day in that awful state. Mohammed Khodeir, Abdel Moneim Ibrahim Tolba, Ali Khafaga and myself helped in getting them out. We found that the buried part of every one of them was untouched but that the upper part was mutilated and showing the marks of bullets and the stabs of bayonets. A few houses remained unburnt and there were more than twenty persons killed and fifteen wounded. It was difficult to determine the casualties as the majority of the inhabitants had left the village. A great number of sheep were killed. They did not burn my house. They tried in vain to open its doors during the night. In the morning a great number of them gathered there, pulled down a part of the wall and broke the door open. They entered the house, and robbed me all that I had, which was L. E. 200, and some jewelry valued at L. E. 400 In the house there were six women, viz: my two wives, my father's wife, three wives of my brothers; all those gave me their jewelry to keep. I shut these women in

a room. The soldiers continued their rifling in every part of the house and took all the clothes, utensils, rugs and earpets which they found. Some of them opened the room in which the women were hidden, dragged them out, searched them but found nothing on them. The Mulahez (Police officer) then arrived while the soldiers were still looting. They warned us to leave the house as they were going to set fire to it, but the Mulahez spoke to them and it seemed that he requested them to spare it in order to put in it the other occupants of the burnt houses together with the wounded, as that house was large enough. The Egyptian policeman began to bring in all the survivors, both unharmed and wounded. I went out to another house of my own which I found burnt. In that house there had been wheat and maize valued at L. E. 100. I also found burnt a grocery shop of my own. It contained goods valued at about L. E. 200. The British soldiers killed a she-ass and a buffalo which belonged to me, valued at L. E. 70. In the village I heard that the soldiers had taken with them four or five women, but the Mulahez went and released them. I also heard that while one of the soldiers was endeavouring to violate Zenab Bint Khalil, wife of Khafaga Marzouk, she cried to her husband for help. He attempted to protect her, and was consequently one of the five who were taken and buried alive with the Sheikh of the village and shot. I was told that Aziza Bint Khodeir, wife of Abdel Tawab Abdel Maksoud, was about to be violated when her husband tried to defend her and was killed. Most of the inhabitants left the village, only very few remained.

Q. "Have you any more details?"

A. "No; but we request security against any further assault on our persons, honour and property, and we beg to have our case considered with justiee."

Q. "Have you not seen any native offending any of the soldiers?"

A. "Never; the inhabitants on the eontrary were very quiet and peaceful despite their observing the plundering of their houses. This tranquillity was due to the repeated orders received and to what took place in Azizia and Bedrechein."

His statement ended, he affirmed, and signed.

Sgd. .....

N.B.—The Omda's son requested to add to his original evidence the following:

"My father, the Omda, was taken to a place unknown to us. The Sheikh was half buried alive and shot. The Chief Guard was also killed in his house and the three guards fled. The village is now left without any responsible person in charge. We therefore solicit the Government to protect us against further attacks on our persons, honour and property, and also the remaining small part of our poor village. We came some days ago to the Mudiria and complained to the Mudir and to the members of our Provincial Council, who held a meeting and examined our complaint. But till now we did not see any steps taken in connection with our grievances about the atrocious actions committed by the British soldiers in our village. Moreover I still do not know whereto my father had been taken."

His statement ended, he affirmed and signed.

Sgd. .....

Procès-Verbal closes on Sunday 13., 4., 1919 at 3 P.M. Under completion.

Sgd. I. D. ABAZA,
Mamour Zapt, Guizeh.

Procès-Verbal opens on Tuesday, 15th April, 1919, at 10 A.M.

Sawi Eff. El Taher, Police Officer in charge of Mazghouna Police Outpost, appeared before us; cross-examined he stated as following:

Duly Sworn:

"On 29th March, 1919, I received orders from the Mudir through Giza Markaz to guard and maintain discipline all over the line and take the necessary steps as required for the safety and convenience of the soldiers who were expected on the train going to Upper Egypt for repairing the railway line. I gave instructions to all the Omdas of the district, and communicated to them the orders of the Mudir. The next day (30th March,

1919) having known that the train was approaching, I sent two of my policemen to the Omdas of Mazghouna and Nazlet el Shobak instructing them to send out the labourers required. My policemen reported that some time before the arrival of the train the Omda had gathered the men who were to assist in the repairs, and he himself together with the Chief-Guard and the Sheikh awaited to receive the train.

"At 4 P.M. I heard successive reports of guns and then the rounds of a machine gun in action. Immediately I mounted my horse and hastened to the train where I saw the Commandant Officer after being repeatedly stopped by the British Guards. Firing at the village was still going on when I spoke to the Commandant. Machine guns were then stopped, but the rifles' fire was still going on till the next day. I inquired from the Commandant about the cause of the trouble and he told me that when the train stopped at a damaged part of the line, the soldiers went down to the village with no arms and the Bedouins fired at them, and wounded some of them. I explained to him that the inhabitants of the village were all Fellahs and not at all Bedouins. Another officer told me that he saw about sixty armed natives going out from the village, and pointing out to some neighbouring villages he said that it was probable that the Bedouins would come from those villages to attack the train, I assured him that there were no Bedouins, and that all the inhabitants were quiet and peaceful, and that they had no hand in the damage caused to the line. He asked if it was true that the station was safe and I assured him it was. At the same time another officer met me and I asked him the reason for their firing at the Village. He answered that some of the natives threw stones at the train when it passed along, and when it stopped they fired at the soldiers. I observed many soldiers in every part of the village. Some were firing at the inhabitants and some were lying on the ground facing the fields and firing at the farmers and their cattle. I begged the Commandant to stop firing to enable me to enter the village. But he refused, telling me that I could not enter before the next morning. His excuse was that the soldiers were all scattered in the fields, in the village and everywhere, and that it was extremely difficult for him to send them any orders. I then

stood amazed and could not find any means in my power to put an end to that dreadful scene. I saw three men, one of whom was the Sheikh (the only Sheikh in the village), standing under guard as captives in front of the British soldiers. I inquired about the reason for their arrest and the officers told me that those three men were encouraging the natives to fire at the soldiers and that they were trying to get them to give the names of the villagers who did carry arms. But they said they did not see any arms at all. I then told the officers that one of the three men was the Sheikh whose duty by law was to collect all arms in the village, and that had there been any arms he would have confiscated them and handed them to the civil Authorities. Some of the officers stated that they saw personally the arms with some of the natives and that any pretence to the contrary would be a mere lie. I then asked the Sheikh whether he knew the existence of any arms with the inhabitants, but he asserted that 'had there been any I should have surely handed them over to the Authorities in conformity with the regulations.' The officers furiously ordered me to leave them and go, as they would themselves take charge of questioning them. So I returned to my police station, as my presence proved of no avail. But when I reached my quarters, which were three kilometers away, I saw the village behind wrapped in flames, and so I returned to the train to see what was the cause of that fire. It was six o'clock by that time when I met one of the officers and upon asking him whether they have given orders to put the village on fire, he shook his shoulders and said that those were military orders with which I should not interfere. Next morning, after a whole night of continuous fire and shots booming in the village, I went to the Commandant and requested him to give his orders to stop firing and to allow me to enter the village. At that time I saw a great number of men, women and children standing beside the train and surrounded by armed soldiers on their guard. As soon as they saw me they all cried to me for help (here the Mulahez burst into tears and the inquiry was temporarily suspended. He resumed and continued): When I asked the officer about the reason for which those people were arrested, he replied that it was the soldiers that brought them. I begged

him to hand them over to me and to put them in my charge, as most of them were women and children. When the officers saw that I was entreating with tears in my eyes, he left them to me. With a permission from the Commandant, who ordered a British force to accompany me, we entered the village where I met the officer who was there and explained to him my request that the soldiers should leave the village and cease firing and burning. He said that he wanted to search for arms first. But I asked him what he would search after having burned all the houses. He answered that he would search those houses that remained unburnt. I looked for the Omda but did not find him. I saw another group of women surrounded by soldiers. They cried to me for help and I rescued them and put them in an unruined house. I then went to the Omda's house led by one of the village guards and found that the door was locked. We knocked several times but received no reply. I shouted to him who I was and so he appeared. The British officer wanted to search the Omda's house (here the Mulahez burst again into tears and the inquiry was suspended for a while until he recovered. He resumed): I explained to the officer that the Omda was the chief of the village and that it would be fair to treat him respectfully, but he insisted upon searching the house for arms which we did at last. We found none. We then left the house, accompanied by the Omda, to search the other houses. Whenever we entered a house, we found a group of soldiers searching it. We used to turn them out and make the search ourselves. We found no arms at all in the village except an old pistol out of order and unfit for use, which we saw with a soldier who said he had found it somewhere, without being certain of the house wherein he had found it. We observed during our inspection that the houses of the village were to a great extent demolished and the soldiers invested every house and that they were seen carrying some furniture, fowls, geese, rabbits, etc., and in one of the soldier's wagons we saw three sheep slain and hung. In all the wagons there were lots of hens, geese, rabbits, etc. I saw a soldier carrying a new carpet and begged him to leave it. But he said he wanted to furnish his compartment with it. Another soldier was carrying brass pans and others paquets and baskets containing house utensils.

I met an officer other than the one who was in the village, and I got an order from him to have the trumpet sounded in order to collect the force. I heard a shriek for help from one of the houses and upon my entrance I found a woman surrounded by three British soldiers. I asked her why did she cry and she said that those soldiers were attempting to violate her. When they saw me speaking to her and noticed that I was in frenzy, they left the house. I asked her whether they had accomplished their desire but she answered negatively in spite of what I clearly noticed on her face as she looked extremely ashamed. I took her to a safer place, and six days after, I heard rumours in the village that many women had been raped. I investigated in the matter and discovered that the woman alluded to whom I had relieved was one of the victims. She was ashamed to admit that openly before me and her relatives were bitterly suffering when the fact was known to all. Her name is Om Sayed Bint Mahamed Hassanein.

"We started searching for the corpses and we found three in the village among which was one of a woman burnt in her house. Seeing how terrible and continuous the firing had been throughout the whole night, we presumed that the victims would surely be more than three and so we sent out some persons to search in the fields and they found 17 corpses and seventeen wounded. Next day we were informed that five corpses were found in one pond south of the village; they were found shot and with evidence of bayonet stabs on their bodies. The above-mentioned Sheikh of the village was one of the five. Some inhabitants told me that they found those corpses buried to their waists and shot; their faces disfigured and covered with pieces of rags, their lower halves were uninjured. I asked to see those corpses myself but the Omda of Shobak el Charby (Shobak West) told me that the dead bodies were buried in Shobak Sharky (Shobak East) on the 31st March, 1919. The Omda of Abouragwan El Kebly told me that six men from his village were shot while passing near Nazlet el Shobak; three were killed and the other three were wounded.

Q. "What became of the Omda?"

A. "When the Omda was accompanying us during the search, an officer came to us from the armed train and inquired from

the Omda about the cause of the incident. The latter replied that he knew not. The officer then took him along with him to see the Commandant; the Omda asked to be accompanied by the Mulahez, but the officer refused and ordered two soldiers to take him to the train where he was put under guard in a carriage of the train which moved southward. I therefore told the officer that he said he would take the Omda to be questioned before the Commandant and yet I saw that he had been carried away in the train. His reply was that they wanted him to be examined at El Ayat. I assured the officer that the Omda knew nothing of the matter specially. He is known to be a good man and renowned for his honesty and truthfulness. The officer asked me not to repeat my words and to keep silent, and so I stood amazed in my place, shedding tears with those who were weeping. Till now I do not know what became of him.

Q. "You reported to the Mudir on March 31st, 1919 that the train stopped at El Shobak and some unarmed British soldiers went down to the village to buy some necessaries; that a quarrel started between them and the villagers; and that you were informed by the Commandant that the natives fired at the soldiers, who were thus obliged to fetch their arms from the train and fire at the inhabitants? (We read out the rest of his report to him)."

A. "I sent my telegram immediately after I had met the Commandant and before I knew anything of the cause of the incident except what had been communicated to me by the Commandant, which I believed was the exact truth. As I desired to send a quick message to the Mudiria and owing to my confusion at that time I sent it in the form mentioned, relying upon the statements of the Commandant. In order to prevent any misrepresentation, I should have started my telegram thus: 'The Commandant informed me, etc. . . .'"

Q. "Did any of the officers take part in the atrocities?"

A. "It is evident that the firing and burning could not have taken place without the officers' orders, but the plundering and violating had presumably been done by the soldiers of their own accord. The taking away of the fowls and furniture from the village was in the presence of the officers. Every wagon contained some of the plundered articles. Had the officers

wanted to prevent that, they would have ordered the soldiers to restore everything to the village. The train that afterwards went southwards passed by all the villages and towns on the line, with the fowls, geese and rabbits hung inside and at the doors of the carriages, and everybody could and did see them along the whole way. As regards the attitude of the officers, I saw one of them going out with two goose-eggs in his hands. When he saw me, he felt ashamed of himself. This was before other people beside myself. The Ombashi (Police Corporal) Mohamed Hamdi and two guards from Mazghouna (I remember that one of them is called Ali Ali Zaki, but I do not remember the name of the other), were among many others that bear witness to all that I have said."

Q. "Were there any officers inside the village together with the soldiers?"

A. "When I returned to the village next day, I saw only the officers who had accompanied me in the search. I did not know whether there were other officers in the village. Two others came by that time. I requested them to stop the soldiers. They sounded the trumpet and gathered them.

Q. "Do you know whether there were officers by night with the soldiers in the village?"

A. "I did not enter the village by night, but returned to the Police Station and consequently can not give any information as regards that matter."

Q. "Do you know some of the soldiers that did such actions in the village, and some of the officers that were with them?"

A. "I know by sight the Commandant, and the officers who were in the village and some of the other officers as well; but the soldiers cannot be distinguished. They all took part in what happened."

Q. "Was not any officer or soldier killed or wounded in the incident?"

A. "I did not see personally any of them killed or wounded; but I heard from the Commandant that some soldiers (I do not know how many) were wounded."

Q. "What do you know of the attitude of the Omda and Sheikh towards public security in the last troubles?"

A. "Both of them maintained discipline by every possible means."

Q. "What do you know about the murder of the Sheikh Chafar (Chief Guard)?"

A. "On my arrival at the village, I asked for him, but could not find him. At last I heard that he was hiding himself in his house at the time when the soldiers were firing at the village. The soldiers attacked his house, broke its door open, plundered its contents and then set fire to it. He then went out from the oven in which he was hiding, and attempted to extinguish the fire. One of the soldiers shot him dead. He is one of the victims I mentioned in my report."

Q. "Have you got anything more to state?"

A. "This is what I have seen and heard and what I now remember. The villagers may also be asked to relate what they personally sustained. There are many cases that I am unacquainted with and many others which I do not remember at present."

His statement ended, he affirmed and signed.

Sgd. .....

We requestioned the Mulahez as follows:

Q. "Were all the soldiers whom you did find in the village armed?"

A. "Yes, they were all armed with rifles."

Q. "Have you made accuratc investigations as to the cause of the incident?"

A. "Yes, I asked one of the villagers who told me that when the train stopped at their village, the soldiers who were in it, armed, got off and began to collect the fowls and the geese from the lanes. The Omda was with some of them. Some soldiers attempted to violate the wife of one of the villagers, and the first quarrel began; the inhabitants trying to prevent the soldiers from violating the women, and the soldiers insisting upon that. Moreover, the soldiers fired at them and killed some of them. Some soldiers came from the train and the whole force fired their guns and rifles at the village. I was told that the first woman whose chastity was attacked was Zenab Bint Khanlil. Such raping was in fact the main reason of the incident."

Q. "Who was the woman burnt in her house and whom you previously mentioned?"

A. "On the first day of the incident, we were informed that the woman who was burnt was Maryam Bint Soliman el Fouli. Two days later, I was told that two other women Aziza Bint El Sayed and Nazima Bint El Kordi, were also found burnt in their houses. I personally saw the corpses of the first of these women, but I did not see the two others, as the inhabitants had buried them. The number of women may ultimately prove to be more than this."

Q. "Have you got any further details?"

A. "No. I have given my evidence on oath, accurately stating the true facts listening to nothing else but the dictates of my conscience and aware of my responsibility for it before Providenee without regard to any other consideration."

His statement ended, he affirmed and signed.

Sgd. .....

Procès-Verbal closes the same day at 2.30 P.M. under completion.

Sgd. I. D. ABAZA,
Mamour Zapt of Guizeh.

Procès-Verbal opens the same day at 4 P.M.—Policeman Mohamed.

Hamdy was called. He stated the following:

Mohammed Hamdy Hussein, aged 27, Ombashi of Mazghouna Police Station.

Duly Sworn:

"On 30th March, 1919, at about 4 P.M., when I was in the Police Station, I heard several shots fired, and the Mulahez hastened to the place of the incident. The firing continued till the morning without interruption. We distinguished the rounds of some machine guns in action. Next morning I went with the Mulahez to the plaee of the incident. As we approached the train, we found a group of women and children by its side. When those perceived us they began to shed tears and to cry

for help. At this the Mulahez went to the Commandant, and obtained an order from him to release them, and to enter the village accompanied by a British force. In the southern part of the village we found some women surrounded by a band of armed soldiers. The Mulahez spoke to the officer for them, as their shrieks and cries were bitter and piteous. The officer then allowed them to enter one of the unburnt houses. During our inspection we found some corpses in the way, houses demolished and burnt down, and some of them still on fire. We then called upon the Omda in his house. When he knew that it was the Mulahez that was calling upon him, he opened the door, and the British Force rushed in to search his house for arms; but they did not find any. The Omda was taken under escort, and we resumed our search and entered the very few houses that remained unburnt. They were full of soldiers, busy searching and plundering. No men were there, as they had all deserted the village from fear of murder and fire. We entered some of the burnt houses where we found some women in the danger of being burnt as the British soldiers had stopped them from escaping. If a band of soldiers did obey their officer and leave the house, another band would enter the same house. We entered a house which was mostly burnt. In its court we saw three living women and the burnt corpse of a fourth. The soldiers were, however, spread all over the house. Their bags were full of what they looted and under their shirts they had lots of things which made them look like pregnant women. They did not leave a single hen or goose behind. I saw some of them carrying many carpets, rugs, pans, utensils and several other articles to which I drew the attention of the Mulahez, who begged the officer to have these things restored, but in vain. We were told that the soldiers rushed into the Omda's house after we had left it, plundered it, and set fire to it. Sometimes about 20 soldiers attacked one house. The whole force was about seven hundred or eight hundred men. I saw a 2nd Lieutenant carrying two goose-eggs. The soldiers took some sheep and hung them together with the geese, hens, rabbits inside the train, and some were hung on the windows of the train. The sound of firing was still being heard inside the houses. We entered a house, where we found three soldiers surrounding a woman who

cried for our help. She told the Mulahez that those soldiers were attempting to commit rape on her. She was in a piteous condition of fear and shame. The three soldiers went out and the Mulahez asked her whether she had been violated, but she answered in the negative. I doubted her statement and did not know whether she told the truth or not. She was, I believe, afraid of infamy and disgrace."

Q. "Did the officers see the soldiers carrying away their plunder and yet did not order them to forebear?"

A. "They saw them and did not prevent them. The poultry was seen hung in all the carriages, and even in that of the Commandant himself. The officers were laughing, and repeated the Arabic word 'Kowayes, kowayes' which means 'good, good'."

His statement ended, he affirmed and signed.

Sgd. .....

Om El Sayed Bint Mohamed, aged 35, living at Nazlet el Chobak.

Duly Sworn:

"When I heard the shots in the afternoon, I took my children and shut ourselves in our house. I heard the bullets booming all the night long till the morning, when two soldiers broke my door open and rushed in." Here she wept bitterly. The inquiry therefore stopped for a while. She resumed: "They on searching me and my house and looted all the money and jewelry that they found on me. One of them violated me, and the other looted the house. They then went out, and three others entered and attempted to repeat the same shameful act against me, but I cried for help, and when the Mulahez entered, they left me and went out. The Mulahez then took me to another house. When I returned to my house I found it burnt. My children were safe; when the two soldiers attacked me, two of my children fled to the roof. The youngest, aged 4 years, stayed by my side."

Her statement ended, affirmed, and stamped.

Zenab Bint Khalil was called and questioned:

Zenab Bint Khalil, aged 35, living at Nazlet el Shobak.

Duly Sworn:

"When we heard the sounds of the firing in the afternoon, we shut ourselves in the house, my husband, my daughter, my children (4) and myself. At night some soldiers, about ten in number, broke our door open and took all the money and jewelry that they found. We hid my husband in a room. They caught my daughter and threw her on her back. One of them committed rape on her, while the others surrounded her and plundered everything that came under their sight. My children were screaming loudly, and so my husband came out and prayed the soldiers to forbear from assaulting his wife's chastity. They turned him out and set fire in the house while we were in. We fled to another house of ours where we kept the cattle, but we found it also burnt together with the cattle. In the morning after the departure of the train, I heard that five men of our village were shot. I went to see whether my husband was one of them. I found him buried up to his waist, a bullet piercing his side, and a wound in his neck. I took his corpse and buried him."

Her statement ended, affirmed and sealed.

Saada Bint Hassanein: We questioned Saada Bint Hassanein who stated:

Duly Sworn:

"My name is Saada Bint Hassanein, aged 50, living at Nazlet el Shobak. When we heard the sounds of firing, we shut ourselves in our house, my husband, my son and his wife and myself. Both my son and my husband were in one room. The soldiers first found me and then my daughter-in-law. They laid us on the ground in a disgraceful manner and repeated the word 'Zig-Zig.' We understood that they wanted to violate us and to prevent them from doing so, we kissed their hands and feet and beseeched them to spare us, but in vain. When we felt sure that they wanted to execute their brutal desire, we cried loudly for help. My husband and my son ran from their hiding

place, but not armed even with a stick. When the soldiers saw them, they fired at them, and killed both of them. My son was about 25 years of age and my husband fifty. When we saw them murdered, my daughter-in-law and myself escaped to the oven. The soldiers then looted all the jewelry and money that they found. They also broke open the cupboards and boxes, and before their departure they set fire to the house. We fled to another house of ours but we found that they had also set fire to it and burnt a wheat store. They did not leave anything to us, not even our clothes; what they did not take was totally burnt."

Her statement ended, affirmed, and sealed.

Procès-Verbal closes on the above-mentioned date at 7 P.M. under completion.

Procès-Verbal opens on Wednesday 16th, April, 1919, at 9.35 A.M.

Soliman Mohammed El Fouli, aged 50, of Nazlet el Shobak stated:

Duly Sworn:

"In the afternoon of the day of the incident, I heard a murmur that the 'Christians' have attacked our village. I, at once closed the door of my house and remained inside with my wife, alone, as my sons were in the field with the cattle. We afterwards heard several shots, and in the meantime four soldiers broke my door open and rushed into my house. When they entered, they searched us and took from my wife her jewelry and from me my money. They then took my wife to a room, two armed men guarded me so as I could not move, and the other two threw her prostrate on the ground before my own eyes. One of the soldiers pulled off his trousers and raised her clothes up to her breast and attempted to violate her. She resisted and kicked the soldier lying on her with her foot. But the other soldier shot her dead in her right side. When the remaining soldiers perceived that, they released me, and I escaped to the fields. I passed the whole night there, and on my return to my house next morning after the firing had stopped, I found my

house totally burnt. My cattle happened to have been in the fields, and were thus saved."

His statement ended, affirmed and sealed.

Mohamed El Kordi, aged 20, living at Nazlet el Shobak, stated as follows:

Duly Sworn:

"In the afternoon, the time when the British soldiers entered the village, I saw great numbers of them filling the lane in which I live. I then entered my house and closed the door. There was nobody in the house except my sister Nazima, a virgin 17 years of age. The door of my house was then shattered in and eight British soldiers entered. Two soldiers held me and two others held my sister, and the rest searched the house and looted all the jewelry and money they could find. I, though guarded, was able to witness what had been done to my sister by the two soldiers holding her. They first threw her prostrate on the ground in spite of her cries for help and the resistance she offered. Her clothes were raised up to her neck and she was thus quite naked. One of the soldiers took off his trousers and violated her in spite of her cries and calling for help. After he had finished, the other one who was holding her by the head, attempted to rape her too, but she resisted and tried to fly away. He consequently shot her in the head. The bullet pierced the back of the head, forced its way through the cheeks, and the poor girl instantly died. Her necklace was taken, and the sheep, pans, and money in the house were all looted. After their departure I went out and spent my whole night in the open fields. When I returned in the morning after the firing had ceased, I found my house burnt."

His statement ended, affirmed and sealed.

Hussein Sayed el Mohr, aged 46, living at Nazlet el Shobak, merchant:

Duly Sworn:

"In the afternoon of the day of the incident in question, fifteen British soldiers entered my house where there were my brother

Mohamed Sayed El Mohr, the Chief Guard, three women, five children and myself. The soldiers looted the jewelry and the money which they came across. The women, panicstricken with fear, fled to the upper floor, and we followed them. After the soldiers plundered all that they found in the cupboards and boxes which were broken open, they ascended to the upper floor where we were. They indecently assaulted one of the women and one of them committed rape on her. The rest of the soldiers stood around at the door. I then attempted to enter but was prevented by the soldiers at the door under threat of their rifles. In the meantime my brother cried, saying: 'We have endured everything but we cannot see our women raped. This is insupportable!' He then rushed in to their rescue, but was instantly shot. I then advanced and took my brother in my arms to an adjacent room. He died the next day. The soldiers stayed with the women for a long time. I, with my very eyes, had to see my own wife, Aisha, being raped. I think no woman escaped that disgrace, as the soldiers remained in the village from the afternoon until the next morning, while the men of the village fled away. Those few persons who were left were either killed or kept helpless under guard. If you do not find a great number of violated women and virgins to give their evidence in this inquiry, it is because of the eternal disgrace which is entailed by expressing such facts. They then set fire to the house, which we extinguished after their departure, and the house was partly burnt. Another group entered to search the house. But they found nothing, and when they saw the murdered men and the piteous state of the women, they went away."

Q. "Did not your brother defend himself with his gun?"

A. "The British soldiers came in the afternoon and the ghaffirs (guards) usually take their rifles from the house of the Omda after sunset."

Q. "Have you any other details?"

A. "I had a shop inside my house which contained wheat, maize, rice, butter and cheese, and all that was looted."

His statement ended, affirmed, and sealed.

Mahmud Ibrahim Abdel Hadi, aged 32, living at Nazlet el Shobak, stated:

Duly Sworn:

"I was at home when the soldiers were firing at the village. When I opened the door to know the cause, six soldiers rushed into the house. Four of them caught me, while the other two caught my sister and took her to a room where both of them committed rape on her. She was crying for help all the time, but in vain. I myself saw the raping with my very eyes while I was unable to do anything. One of the soldiers shot her, and one of them looted all the money and jewelry which they found. They then set fire to the house by pouring some fluid from bottles which they had with them. They also poured some of that liquid over my murdered sister and burnt her. I went up to the roof and jumped to an unburnt house and continued jumping from one roof to another until the morning. My sister's name was 'Aziza,' aged 30 years old. No other one was with us in the house.

His statement ended, affirmed, and signed.

Galal Abdel Wahed, aged 30 years old, of Nazlet el Shobak, stated:

Duly Sworn:

"I lived in a house which had three entrances. The British troops shattered two doors on the day of the event and the third next morning. They entered the house, in which were found my father, Sheikh Abdel Wahed Ali Tolba, and three women, viz: my mother, my brother's wife and my uncle's wife. My father shut the women in a room the door of which the British troops broke open. My father entreated them to leave the women, but in vain. They dragged them by their hair. My father was crying and shouting, 'Shame, shame!' One of the soldiers shot him with two bullets and he died instantly. They took the money which was in his pocket and in the valise. I wept, and kissed the hands of the soldiers, and prayed them to leave the women. They looted the carpets which were in the house, also lanterns, pans, and clothes. They set fire to our provisions, such as maize and wheat. Our large house was put on fire, but only half of it was burnt. When the Mulahez came

next morning, he saw the last carpet which was carried by one of the soldiers, and he requested the soldier to return it. I learned that my uncle had been shot, wounded in the leg.''

His statement ended, affirmed, and signed.

Aly Sayed Mansour appeared and stated as follows:

Duly Sworn:

''I am 60 years of age, farmer, and living at Nazlet el Shobak. On the day of the event, the British soldiers entered my house and plundered all that it contained. The women fled and the soldiers took away all the jewelry and money which they found. They fired at my buffalo, which was killed. I was taken under guard and placed beside the armoured train together with a group of women, children and four men. When the Police Officer (Mulahez) came, we wept, and the women cried for help. He then spoke to the officers, and was authorized to release us. I found my house saved from being burnt.''

His statement ended, affirmed and sealed.

Fatmah Bint Hag Hassan Abou Taleb was summoned. She stated as follows:

Duly Sworn:

''My name is Fatma Bint Hassan Abou Taleb, 35 years of age, living at Nazlet el Shobak. At sunrise I found the door of my house shattered and opened and four British soldiers entered. I then advised my husband to remain on the roof and told him that I shall remain with my three children downstairs to give the soldiers all that they required. Then they entered. They looted L. E. 30 and my jewelry from a box. One of the soldiers brutally dragged me and threw me prostrate on the ground. I then loudly cried for help and entreated them to leave me, as I was pregnant. My husband heard my screams, and came to rescue me. When the soldiers saw him, one of them shot him in the head, and he died on the spot. My children and myself cried and shouted for help, but in spite of all that, the soldiers set fire to the house which was completely

destroyed. My husband's name was Abdel Latif El Dadruri. He was 40 years of age."

Her statement ended, affirmed and sealed.

Abdel Latif Abou el Magd. The Omda's son requested to add the following statement:

Duly Sworn:

"In the morning of the day of the event while the firing was going on, four soldiers attempted to break the door of my neighbour Gad El Noula Nassan Magata, but they were unable to do so. They then entered an adjacent house, and jumped from it onto the roof, and went down to the said house where they found Gad El Noula and his wife, Wagda Bint El Gabn, who was carrying her child, a year old. They searched the house and took all the money and jewelry that they found. I, being his neighbour, heard the sounds of breaking the boxes. I also learned from her that both she and her husband were robbed. The soldiers then attempted to rape her, and when her husband protested, one of them shot him. He died on the next day. She fled into another room, but the soldiers followed her and caught her in spite of being pregnant the ninth month. She thought that when she held her child, who was on her shoulder, to the soldiers, she might attract their mercy and pity towards her and thus escape the raping. But when she stretched her arms with the child between them, the soldiers brutally shot the child, and the bullet pierced his shoulder right through. He did not die, and is still under treatment by the sanitary barber of the village. The soldiers set fire to the house, and half of it was destroyed. She came yesterday to give her evidence, but she was obliged to withdraw for the labour pains that came upon her."

N.B.—I herein confirm that the above-mentioned Wagda came yesterday and verbally reported to me what had been done to her. Her evidence was found to be in conformity with what had been said by Abdel Latif Abou El Magda the aforesaid witness. Magda had left before having been cross-examined as she felt the labour pains of giving birth and she did not come

to-day. I saw her child of a year old on her shoulder, and saw the trace of the bullet.

Sgd. I. D. Abaza,
Namour Zapt of Giza.

Abdel Kader Mohamed Dakrouri, Hassan Saman, Mohamed Mansour, Narzouk el Saman, Abou Saad, of Nazlet el Shobak appeared and verbally reported to me without swearing what has been done to them. The evidence of each implied the plundering of his house and setting fire to it. As that was the common suffering of all the inhabitants of the village, I saw it was quite sufficient to mention this summarized note which was sealed by them.

Seals .....

Procès-Verbal closes, on the above-mentioned day at 1.15 P.M.

Procès-Verbal reopened to affirm the following:

A petition was submitted to me from Watfa Bint Okbi Abou Saad, which I enclose herewith, together with a medical certificate from Dr. Hassanein Bey Hosni. The petition asserted that fifteen armed British soldiers plundered the woman's house and took her money and jewelry. Her husband was at that time absent in the fields. The soldiers ordered her and her neighbour who happened to have been with her to leave the house, and while so doing a soldier fired at them with the result that her daughter, Om El Saad, three years old, was shot in the left eye. The medical certificate submitted by the petitioner stated that the child was shot in the lower eye-lid of the left eye near the nose and that the bullet had been taken out by an operation.

Procès-Verbal closes.

Sgd. I. D. Abaza,
Mamour Zapt of Guizeh.

N.B.—We attached the last petition, together with the medical certificate and the bullet which has been taken out, to the original copy of the Procès-Verbal.

Sgd. Mamour Zapt of Guizeh.

ANNEX NO. 4

Translation of a letter addressed by the President of Superior Native Tribunal of Keneh, to His Excellency, the Minister of Justice, dated April 17th, 1919. Sub. No. 172. Pp. 95–1.

To His Excellency the Minister of Justice:

I have the honour of bringing before you the fact that yesterday there was published in the town of Moudirieh a proclamation, issued by the Commanding General of the British Forces in Upper Egypt, whereby all the inhabitants are obliged to salute each British Officer passing in the streets, and notifying them that in case of disobedience to this command, they should immediately become liable to punishment under strict Martial Law.

The proclamation further states that this law is only in the interests of peace and good-feeling on both sides.

When the Proclamation was made known to the judges of the local Tribunals, the Members of the Court and other functionaries, they were most indignant, and more especially so at the threat contained therein, as to the immediate application of punishment under Martial Law in case of disobedience.

In respect of this the Judges, Members of Court and other functionaries, have put before me a request, which I herewith enclose, telling me that in view of the situation created by this Proclamation, in order to protect their own dignity, and in the desire to avoid all possible misunderstanding, they feel obliged for the moment, in manner of protestation, not to leave their own houses, although this course may be harmful to their personal interests as well as to the public welfare.

I immediately cabled this request to your Excellency, as well as the others formulated by the functionaries of the Court, all of which are in the same style.

You will also find enclosed two Pleas, as well as a copy of the Proclamation above mentioned, in order that you may study the situation and take proper measures to prevent the execution of said Proclamation, which can only serve in wounding the dignity of the inhabitants of this country, while directly attacking the liberty of the individual and impeding the normal course of judicial affairs.

Please accept the assurance of my highest consideration.

Signed: ALY SALEM,
President of the Native Tribunal of Keneh.

ANNEX NO. 5

Translation of a letter addressed to H. E. the Minister of Justice, by the President of the superior Tribunal (Native) of Keneh, dated April 19th, 1919.

To His Excellency the Minister of Justice:

Following my letter of the 17th inst. No. 172, and my telegram of to-day, I have the honour of bringing to your notice the following facts:

On Thursday the 17th, at about 2 P. M., I received a personal convocation from H. E. the Moudir, inviting me to come to see him in the Cabinet of the Inspector of the Ministry of the Interior. I accordingly went there and we discussed the putting into execution of the recent Proclamation issued by the Commanding General of the British Forces in Upper Egypt. I pointed out to him the little hope I entertained of its being accepted or obeyed by the inhabitants, as it would certainly be interpreted as a direct attack on their personal dignity.

After a long discussion, his Excellency the Moudir proposed that he should accompany me, as well as the Inspector of Irrigation, the Vice-President of Charie Tribunal, the Patriarch of Copts and other notabilities, to interview the English Commandant stationed at Keneh and point out to him the difficult situation the Proclamation would create and beg him to show himself conciliatory in the application thereof while awaiting the return of the General Commanding the British Forces in Upper Egypt, to whom we should then apply to have the Proclamation recalled.

I could not do otherwise than accept the Moudir's proposition. So we then proceeded to the Headquarters of the British Commander and obtained an interview with him. We exposed the

gravity of the situation and suggested that he should postpone putting into execution the Proclamation for the moment, until the return of the General. He replied that it would be quite impossible for him, on his own authority, to grant our request.

However, after lengthy discussion, he proposed that the English Officers should commence by saluting the officials and notabilities of the country, and that they, in turn, should return the salute, but that for all other classes of the inhabitants the Proclamation as it stood should be obeyed.

Finding it impossible to obtain any other solution, we were forced to consider this one, reserving, however, our final acceptance thereof until we had laid it before our colleague, the Magistrates and Members of the Tribunal. This we did, only to find them unanimous in their total rejection of it, the principal reasons for this being that they considered the solution proposed as being of a nature to create a distinction between a small faction and the majority of the population. This, they considered, would be a grave danger. Besides, they considered themselves as an inalienable part of the population and would not consider any solution that attempted to separate them from it.

They then recounted that the day before, Hussein Eff. Waly, Inspector of Agriculture, on leaving his home, met a small force of British soldiers whom he had not saluted. He had been arrested and brought before the Commandant of the British Forces. There he had declared his identity and stated that he was the Inspector of Agriculture, but that in spite of this the Commandant had obliged him to salute.

When he returned to his home, Hussein Eff. Waly was visited by several people who came to criticize and blame him for having saluted, saying: "Is that the patriotism of the brother of one of our Ministers"?

My colleagues added that seeing the state things were in for the moment, they could not accept the proposition of the British Commander, as it could only tend to separate the people. They had, therefore, decided to discontinue their business and remain in their homes in order to maintain their dignity.

In this way all business is actually suspended, including a very important criminal case in which the Justice of the Peace,

Mohamed Eff. Nachat, and three other Members of the Criminal Court, had been engaged. This morning the audiences in the Court-house and those of the Instructing Judge had been voted postponed.

I also received a telephone communication to the same effect from the Judge of the Summary Tribunal of Esneh, telling me that his sessions had been suspended.

In consequence of which I would beg you to add your best efforts to ours in finding a satisfactory solution of this grave problem.

Signed: ALY SALEM,
President of the Native Tribunal of Keneh.

ANNEX NO. 6

A

A FEW ISOLATED DEEDS TAKEN FROM THE POLICE RECORDS IN THE DISTRICT OF WAILY (CAIRO)

Report No. 53, dated 8th April, 1919.—

At 7 o'clock in the evening some shots were fired by British soldiers in El Abbassieh.

Report No. 3, dated April 9th, 1919.—

1.—At 12 o'clock in Mauchteet El Sard, a man named Mahomed Dakoury was killed by a bullet fired by a British soldier.

2.—At 10 o'clock P.M. Mahomed Soliman, baker, was attacked by British soldiers and wounded.

3.—El-Hag Mahomed-El-Araby was violently beaten by British soldiers without cause and is now in a serious condition.

Report No. 14.—

1.—Angelo Stambulo, Greek subject and mineral water merchant, had a great part of his merchandise forcibly taken from him by British soldiers.

Report No. 23.—

1.—General Mabrouk Pacha, Dr. Mahomed Bey El Kalamoni and Dr. Abbas Bey Waguih, were attacked and searched by 25 British soldiers when they were returning from Heliopolis. The soldiers took about Frs. 1000 from these men as well as a watch and chain belonging to the first-named gentleman, valued at Frs. 700. They also were robbed of their pocket-books and check-books. All this under the threats of the soldiers.

4.—The house of El Ismael Moktar Pacha was attacked and shots fired at it by British soldiers.

5.—Mahomed Toufik Fahing Bey was fired on by British soldiers and could not return to his home until Wednesday.

6.—Mahomed Kalipha was attacked by British soldiers and about Frs. 12,000 taken from him.

7.—Ahmed Aboul Seond, gardener, was robbed of Frs. 600, was wounded, and is now in hospital. The assailants were British soldiers.

8.—Ahmed Aly Zahrane, male hospital nurse, was attacked by British soldiers and robbed of P. T. 170 (46 Fr.), a coupon of P. T. 350, his watch and chain and his tarbouche.

10.—Ahmed Mahomed Chaldam, tailor, of Abbassieh, was robbed of P. T. 125 (33 Fr.), by British soldiers.

11.—Sayed Ahmed Hassan was robbed of P. T. 80 (24 Fr.) by British soldiers.

12.—Abdon Mahomed Rasla, merchant, had his house attacked by English soldiers and was robbed of L. E. 9 (254 Fr.), in notes and L. E. 13 (338 Fr.), in jewels.

13.—Abdel Hamid Ahmed, carpenter, was beaten by British soldiers and his watch and chain valued at L. E. 13 (338 Fr.), stolen.

14.—Aly Mahomed El-Sabboul, barber, in Abbassieh, had his shop destroyed and the goods therein pillaged. These goods were to the value of L. E. (312 Fr.). The mirror broken was of the value of 390 Fr. The looters were British soldiers.

15.—Mahomed Hassan (Labbane) had Fr. 390 stolen from him by British soldiers.

16.—Ibrahim Ahmed Abdon had also Fr. 390 stolen from him, this in jewelry, by the soldiers.

17.—Mahomed Ibrahim had Fr. 350 stolen by British soldiers.

18.—Mahomed Issa, inhabitant of Hared Chiate, was robbed of P. T. 390 by British soldiers.

19.—Amne Ladik was robbed of P. T. 12 by British soldiers.

20.—Hassan Mahomed Idris had stolen from his house by British soldiers his overcoat, which he valued at P. S. 32.

21.—Mahomed Salem of El Abbassieh was robbed of his watch and chain of the value of about P. T. 150 by British soldiers. Also the sum of P. T. 344.

22.—Said Idris had stolen from his house by British soldiers jewelry which he valued at L. E. 14.

23.—Zaki Fahmy El Nagdy was robbed of P. T. 45 by British soldiers.

25.—Mahomed Khairy, tram controller, was robbed by British soldiers.

26.—Mahomed Ahnem Gonein was wounded and robbed by British soldiers to the value of P. T. 300 in money and a watch valued at P. T. 150.

27.—Tewfik Aly, fruiterer, had his house destroyed, and goods to the value of 68 O. P. T. stolen by British soldiers.

28.—Mahomed Wasfy Bey, Government pensioner, was attacked during the night by British soldiers. He was beaten and his money, to the value of L. E. 49 was stolen as well as his watch and ring, valued at L. E. 30.

(All these acts of brutality and theft occurred between 9 o'clock P.M. and the next morning, April 8th, 1919.)

B

REQUEST PRESENTED TO THE SULTAN BY THE INHABITANTS OF WALLY (ABBASSIEH)

We, the inhabitants of the District of Waily (Abbassieh), have the honour to submit to your Highness an account of the acts of which we were the victims last night.

Yesterday evening at about 7 P.M. while people were passing peacefully in Abbassieh Street, men, women, children and even some Egyptian soldiers were fired upon by British soldiers who attacked them in this manner to rob them of their money and jewelry. Not satisfied with this violence, they also attacked houses, which they pillaged. Those acts against a disarmed population can only be qualified as odious.

The English police authorities gave orders that their subordinates must not aid the native police of Waily in keeping order. On account of this, pillaging is rife, and many people have been killed and wounded. Herewith you will find a list of the latter:

1.—General Mabrouk Pacha Fahmy, who was attacked, beaten and robbed of all he has on him, both in money and jewelry.

2.—Dr. Khali Bey Badi, ditto.

3.—Dr. Almaom Bey, ditto.

4.—Abas Bey Radi, ditto.

5.—Colonel Ahmed Bey Wasfi, whose purse containing Fr. 1,300 was taken by force.

6.—A Princess of the Royal House was shot at.

7.—The house of Hussein Tourque (deceased) was attacked and the money and jewelry all taken. This loss is estimated at about Fr. 20,000.

8.—Mahomed Aly Rastas' house was also attacked and pillaged.

9.—The shops belonging to Ibrahim Said-El-Tabbakh were also pillaged.

10.—Mahomed Salem was attacked on the public highway and robbed.

11.—Ahmed Zahram shared the same fate, but was also wounded in the right eye.

12.—Shots were fired on the residence of Mahomed Nadin Eff. who is a Government functionary.

13.—The house of Aly Raman, in Raret Chekata Joussi, was also attacked.

14.—General Ismael Pasha had his house attacked and the windows broken.

15.—The house of El Meallem Mahomed Hassan was attacked, and a café situated near it belonging to Ahmed Ibrahim Youssef.

16.—The home of a lady named El Hagga-Zenah, in Soukel-Abbassieh, was fired on. The state of the ladies of this house is very critical.

17.—About twelve British soldiers surrounded the home of his Excellency, Ibrahim Pasha Fathy, ex-minister, and he himself was fired on.

18.—The Post-Office was attacked and many of the windows broken.

The above acts give only a very small idea of the horrible acts committed in this region. The terrorism exercised by British officers and their men lasted until 11 o'clock P.M.

As the inhabitants have not, for the moment, any regular Government, they are taking the liberty of presenting this

request to your Highness. The inhabitants are menaced at every step by British troops and many of them can easily recognize their brutal agressors of yesterday.

For this reason we respectfully present our complaint to your Highness, begging you to interfere and procure the necessary means to protect us from the Anarchy which reigns and against the atrocities committed by the British soldiers in every corner of Egypt.

We implore your Highness to help us in the realization of our aspirations, in which the whole Egyptian people are one: To obtain the independence, complete and without restriction, of our country, Egypt.

We pray God to grant your Highness a long and happy life.

Abbassieh, April 9th, 1919.

C

APPEAL FROM AN INHABITANT OF MATARIEH (CAIRO)

Dated April 30, 1919

The undersigned, Mahomed Sabry, proprietor, of the village of Helmiaki, a dependence of Matariah, affirms the following:

On Tuesday April 29th, 1919, I heard violent knocking at my door. I immediately opened it, to find myself in the presence of an English officer, accompanied by three Indian officers and about 30 Indian soldiers, all armed, who burst into my house. An Armenian interpreter ordered us to leave our home and said that I must open every closet and cupboard in the house. I opened them all and then left my house. A detachment of Indian soldiers received the order to take us away. We went as far as Boulevard Abbas and there the men were separated from the women. The women were immediately encircled by armed soldiers. As for the men, they were conducted to a nearby cottonfield, still guarded by armed soldiers, and we were kept there until 1 o'clock P.M. without any nourishment, in our bare

feet, and hardly clothed. Our women were in the same state.

At this moment a Police Inspector, accompanied by the District Inspector with a few policemen and three or four Egyptian soldiers, gave the order that certain persons among those arrested should be called. These, encircled by a company of soldiers, were taken to the police station. The police officer of this station then told us that it was our duty to respect the English and especially their officers. He then ordered us to disperse and go home. He had already given the same order to our women.

When I arrived home, the mistress of my house declared that the British soldiers had already been there, and had pillaged everything of value in the house. I went to examine the cupboard where I kept my personal affairs. I found everything scattered around the room and 150 pounds in single banknotes had disappeared. The same thing had taken place for my other possessions of value: The bracelets and necklaces in gold and all the clothes of the women of the house had been stolen as well as many antiques of great value to us.

Besides all this, the fowl of the house had either been stolen or the younger birds crushed under foot. Our bread was all gone and some sort of flour left in its place. In a word, they had left us in the most abject poverty, without food, clothes or money, and we had to pass the night without any nourishment.

We have sent in a plea to the District Inspector. He gave us the order to make out a list of what we had lost. This list we gave to the Commanding Officer.

After reflection, I find that it would be better for me to put our case before the Delegation presided by Saad Pacha Zaglou, which is composed of the best men of the nation, to bring to his knowledge the horrors committed against myself and all the inhabitants of our village, so that, by their intermediary, we could bring these acts before the British Government.

The inhabitants of Matarieh will all confirm these complaints and can tell of the pillage and robbery of which they were the victims.

I beg of the Delegation to take this report into consideration, for fear that my Egyptian countrymen should fall under the

same treatment in the future, and in this way I hope, also to put an end to such unwarrantable cruelty.

It has become impossible for us to inhabit our locality. Our lives, our property and our honour are exposed to the gravest attacks without any legal justification and without our having committed the least infraction of the laws. The injustice meted out to us has now reached the limits of human endurance.

Signed: MAHOMED SABRY.

ANNEX NO. 7

A

EXTRACT FROM THE POLICE REGISTER OF CHOUBRA

Report No. 57, Dated 17th April, 1919

We received a communication by telephone from the police station of Choubra to the effect, that a carpenter named El Sayed Huusein Khalil, of the village of Ibrahim Delim Bey, had informed them that his wife, while taking a walk, had been accosted by British soldiers. She immediately ran towards her home and with her husband's help barricaded her door, but the soldiers succeeded in shooting through the chinks of the door, killing her.

B

TRANSLATION OF A REPORT SUB. NO. 2, WRITTEN BY THE CHIEF OF POLICE OF THE DISTRICT OF CHOUBRA, CAIRO, TO HIS CHIEF, THE AUXILIARY CHIEF OF THE COMMANDANT OF POLICE OF CAIRO, SECTION 1. SAID CHIEF OF POLICE IS ACTUALLY BEFORE A DISCIPLINARY COURT FOR HAVING TAKEN UPON HIMSELF TO BRING THESE FACTS BEFORE HIS CHIEF BY OFFICIAL CHANNELS.

Policeman Abdel Rahman El Tamaf, No. 4, has reported to us that some English soldiers are firing on the Ezbeh (little village) of Belal Al Abid, Kiom de Choubra. These soldiers have set the village on fire, but the inhabitants have now extinguished it. At the same time we are informed by Mohamed Eff. Lamy, Military Chief of the Railway station of Cairo, who lives in the village of Belal, that 15 English soldiers had forced an entry to his house, had threatened him, and had taken L. E.

40, in money and all the jewelry of his mother-in-law, named Om Amine.

We were also informed that a man called Affidi Mohamed, a car driver, living in the same village, had been shot in the shoulder and was dying. Besides which, we were told that another car driver named Ibrahim Khabil, living at Ezbedt El Kharbutly, had presented himself at the Kism (Hospital), having his right foot wounded in several places with shots fired in him by the English soldiers while he was passing through the village of Belal El Abid.

There has just arrived a soldier of the Egyptian Army asking assistance to transport 65 people of these villages who have been wounded. Just before that the Gafir (Guardian) of the village came to us to tell us that between ten and eleven o'clock P.M. about 50 English soldiers, armed with rifles and machine guns, had fired on the village, after which they had entered the houses of the inhabitants, had raped the women, and then stolen all their jewelry. They also attacked and robbed the shops. At this moment they are beside the railway line and are still firing on the village.

In consequence of which we beg you to take the necessary measures.

Signed: MOHAMMED AHMED,
The Mamour of the District of Choubra.

ANNEX NO. 8

EXTRACTS OF PARTICULAR CASES WHICH HAPPENED IN THE DISTRICT OF BOULAC

Criminal Affair No. 387, inscribed in the police District records under Sub. No. 8, dated March 14, 1919, at 3.15, A.M.

The victim was identified later and was a girl named Zeinab Mohammed Aly, from the El-Edouich quarter, Boulac district. She was only ten years old. She had been violated and death had ensued. The medical report qualifies this crime as one of "abominable barbarism."

Further inquiry shows that certain of the inhabitants had witnessed the crime while it had been committed by British soldiers, but who, through fear, did not dare to interfere.

The following is inscribed in the police records of the district, Sub. No. 85. On the 18th of March, 1919, at 9.30 A.M. at night, a guardian of the streets, named Aly Rifai, saw about 300 British soldiers passing in the streets of the above mentioned village, armed with hatchets. They destroyed many houses, among them being a café, a tobacconist's and two manufacturing houses. The damages estimated are L. E. 500 (14,000 Fr.).

ANNEX NO. 9

REPORT PRESENTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMISSION OF THE EGYPTIAN DELEGATION AT CAIRO, ON THE ACTS COMMITTED BY BRITISH SOLDIERS IN THE VILLAGE OF EL CHABANNATT.

The report which I hereby present to the honourable Commission gives facts I saw with my own eyes and in which I myself played a part. I mean to be absolutely sincere and to state nothing but the bare truth:

On the 25th March, 1919, at half-past ten A.M. a group of British soldiers surrounded the house of the Mayor of our village, El Chabannatt (a dependence of Zagazig, Moudirieh of El Charkieh). The Mayor sent for me to help the two parties to a better understanding, as I was the only person in the village who spoke English.

The trouble had arisen concerning a belt of land which borders the railway line near the village. This land was cultivated by certain of the villagers who owned it. The inhabitants, however, could not cross this railway line after 7 o'clock in the evening, by order of the military authorities.

When I arrived at the Mayor's I was told by a British officer that I was to accompany the Mayor to receive the orders of his Chief a Colonel, concerning this belt of land. The Mayor asked me to go so that I could explain everything to the Colonel whose headquarters were at the station of Aboul-Akhdar.

On my arrival there I was immediately surrounded by armed soldiers. The Colonel then informed me that at 2 o'clock on the 24th of March, one of the Indian soldiers (Gourkas), who was guarding the railway line, had been killed. He informed me that our village would be burnt if the criminal were not denounced and handed over at once. In the meantime the village had been encircled and the inhabitants, old and young, ordered

out of their homes. They were pushed along at the point of the bayonet without pity for woman or child. Among the cruel spectacles which I witnessed I will cite one: A poor woman, bearing child, was expelled violently. She was in terrible pain, but every time she tried to sit down, being incapable in her pain to move, the soldiers prodded her on with the points of their bayonets. Needless to say, the result of this savage treatment was that she died a few hours after.

When all the inhabitants had left their homes, the men were separated from the women. The men were made to sit down on the ground and a machine gun was installed behind them. The officer then ordered the Mayor to point out the owners of the aforementioned land. He did so. When they had all been questioned, it resulted that not one of them had been in their fields that day, the fields being sown with wheat and beans, which did not necessitate their presence for the time being.

The officer then informed us of the crime supposed to have been committed in these fields and ordered the Mayor to find the criminal or he would immediately burn the village. The Mayor replied that he was not even aware that a crime had been committed, and that if the criminal belonged to the village, he certainly would have heard of it. For this reason, he asked a delay of one day, so as to make inquiries in the surrounding villages. This delay the officer refused. The Mayor then asked a delay of ten minutes, but the officer persisted in his refusal and added that he had decided to execute 50 of the inhabitants.

The women and children were then separated from the men. At half past two the officer gave the order to burn the village and told us that if any one of the men dared to stand up the machine-gun would be turned on the men. We then witnessed the soldiers break upon the doors of our homes, enter into them, and take everything that they could carry away, after which they set fire to the houses, while we looked on, powerless, to help in saving our homes, our possessions, or our livelihood.

When they had burned the village, they abandoned it. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages had received orders that they were not to aid us in any way. When they had gone, our people were obliged to pass the night in the streets. This spectacle was truly woeful.

The fire raged for two days, and in some places ten days. The greater number of our people had nothing left but what they were clothed in.

This is a true story of what British soldiers did to our village and to our people. Even this did not satisfy them, for they declared their intention of burning three more villages to avenge the death of one Indian soldier.

This is a description of one of the numerous aggressions of England and her soldiers against the people of Egypt, who have committed no other crime than that of asserting their most sacred rights, which no justice here below should refuse them.

I write this so that the infamy of a Nation, which has oppressed us for long years, shall be known, and I send it to you so that you may attach it to the other proofs and arguments showing how legitimate our cause is. I am happy in the knowledge that I am furnishing you with yet another arm to defend the Egyptians in your holy crusade.

Signed: Ragheb Effendi Biachi,
For the Inhabitants of El-Chabannatt.

ANNEX NO. 10

A

COPY OF A REPORT PRESENTED BY H. E. THE MOUDIR (GOVERNOR OF EL CHARKIEH), TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, DATED APRIL, 8, 1919.

Sir,

I have the honour of bringing to your notice the following acts, which happened in my Moudirieh between the 24th March and 7th April, 1919. This will confirm the two preceding reports which I forwarded you on March 23rd, 1919.

At Zagazig

On the 2nd of March, 1919, the Mamour informed us that the "Omdeh" of Wakkas had been fired upon by a Division of the English Army, without any reason, while they were coming back from the village of Mit-El Korachy.

Abdel Hafiz Mohamed Eff. was hit by a bullet while working in the fields, situated far from the railway line. There had been no trouble nor criminal acts in the country to justify these acts of the authorities. Enquiry shows that, effectively, this armed force had fired on the village and that the undersigned had been wounded.

At the same time the Mamour also informed us that he had heard from the Omdeh of the village that British forces had arrived in the village of Bedrechein and had fired on the inhabitants. A man named Ibrahim Abdel Zaff had been killed and another grievously wounded.

The Omdeh of Chabannatt had also informed him that a force of Australian Cavalry about 400 strong surrounded his village. After ordering the inhabitants to leave their homes, they set fire to the village. All the houses had been destroyed and all the cattle, crops, etc.

On inquiry, it was stated that these British soldiers had found the body of a Hindoo soldier who had been killed near the bridge of Abou-El-Akhdar, which is situated near this village. The officer, commanding this force of soldiers had ordered the Omdeh to indicate the criminal. As he could not do so, he was told to order the inhabitants to leave their homes. Then the soldiers pillaged the houses and finally set fire to the village on every side.

The damages thus caused amount to about L. E. 18,700, besides the cost of the constructions.

On the night of the 4th of April, 1919, an armed British force entered the village of Koufour Nigme. A man named Bendary Morsy Salama was fired at and wounded. The inquiry shows that this force wanted the villagers to repair the Delta railway line, but the latter, through fear, fled.

The Mamour relates in his report that British soldiers have repeatedly fired on his village and on the inhabitants without the slightest provocation.

Signed: Mahmoud Kotry,
Moudir of Charkieh.

ANNEX NO. 10

B

Here are six photographs of flagellation. These photographs were taken in Cairo and accompany the medical report, signed by three reputable Cairo physicians.

الشيخ عبدالفتاح مرعى احمد يوسف عمران السيد كريم مرسى عبده

Mech. Sabra
Abmed 50 years
From Kafr el Moutouh
A. Hamid Sisam
Student Azhar
M. Imran
Behera Province
M. Imran
Egypt.
محمود عمران
محمد علي عمران
عبدالحميد صيام
الشيخ محمد صبره

على محمود | الحاج مرعى حسين | الشيخ عبدالصمد بركات | الشيخ محمد سليمان صبره

Abd-el-Hamid Omran (notable)
Mohamed Omran (fellah)
Mohamed el-Fadly (fellah)
Abdo Omran (fellah)
عبدالحميد صيام عمران
محمد علي عمران
محمود الفاضلي
عبده عثمان

عبد الفتاح افندى بركات غالى أفندى جرجس بسيلى افندي جرجس جادورد

غالى أفندي جرجس السيد كريم أحمد يوسف عمران بسيلى أفندي جرجس

ANNEX NO. 11

A

REPORT PRESENTED BY A DELEGATION OF THE NOTABILITIES OF BEHERA

Incidents at Saft-El-Melouk, which happened on the night of Saturday 12, to Sunday 13 of April, 1919.

On the 13th April, 1919, at midnight, British soldiers surrounded the village of Kalh Messaed (about 3 miles from the railway station of Saft-El-Melouk). They ordered the inhabitants to leave their homes and to appear before the British patrol in charge of the railway line for that night, so that they could recognize those of the inhabitants who had fired on the patrol. After having searched every house, loft and out-house, and killed one of the inhabitants named Youssef Mabrouk, the soldiers had the entire male population taken away to an unknown destination.

The same night, at three o'clock A.M., the village of Choubra El Charkieh (dependence of Wakfs Sultaniehs and situated at about a mile and a half from Kafr Massaed) suffered the same fate.

At six o'clock A.M. of the same day, the village of Kafr El Hagueh (about two and a half miles from the railway line) and the surrounding villages were encircled. The villagers, who were at work in the fields, were obliged to re-enter their homes in the midst of the shots fired upon them by the soldiers. The houses were all searched and all the male population taken to the railway station of Saft El Melouk. There they were encircled by British soldiers with fixed bayonets. The women

and children had followed their husbands and parents, shouting and wailing, but dared not approach too near their people for fear of the soldiers.

One of the notabilities of Kafr El Hagueh, a solicitor named Mohamed Eff. Tewfik Omran and Guirguis Boulos Eff, a notable of Kafr Messaod, arrived just at this moment.

After calming the women and children and persuading them to go away, these two men tried to approach one of the British officers. Finding this, however, impossible, they went away to find an interpreter. Just opposite the Post-Office they met Mustapha Eff. Choubagni. Returning with him to the railway station, they saw the British officers getting into a military motor car. Tewfik Omran Eff. recognized by his uniform a General among them. They all went together to beg this General to stop, and in the presence of Mahomed Bey Amin El Behay (member of the Tew-El-Baroud, in the Provincial Council of Behera), Guirguis Boulos Eff. and Mustapha Omran, Mayor of Kafr El Hagueh, it was explained to him that all those men were being unjustly arrested as they all lived on the Eastern side of the railway line while the shots supposed to have been fired were pretended to have come from the western side of it.

However this might be, they begged the General to institute an enquiry so as to punish the real author of the crime of which they accused the inhabitants of the region, all assuring him that the person or persons who had committed it could only belong to the lowest class of the population. All this was to no avail, however, the General declaring that unless the culprit surrendered or was indicated, he would see that his orders were executed.

On this, the General and his staff got into the car and drove away.

Having heard that Mr. Hild, Inspector of Agriculture, was at the station with the officers, we tried to see him so that he should intercede with the authorities that the notabilities and students be not flogged. He refused to listen to us. Just then, however, we heard a terrible tumult, which was entirely dominated by the groaning of the men. The women and children were shouting and crying as they could see the sufferings of

their parents from the banks of the canal where they had gathered all together.

TORTURE AND PILLAGE

Each man was brought before the authorities and was asked if he could indicate the criminal or any place where arms were concealed. When he answered in the negative he was given a card and told to go on to a kiosque situated on the quai. Upon his arrival there, he was seized by soldiers who undressed him, took all his money away, and, as soon as he was naked, placed him with his head through a hole. Four soldiers held him outside this hole while four groups of soldiers, each composed of three soldiers held his feet and hands in lifting up his body. Two other soldiers then flogged him unmercifully without taking any care as to where the blows might fall.

This over, he was thrown out of the kiosque and beaten and kicked by other soldiers outside the kiosque. Some of these men fainted from the pain inflicted: others vomited blood. There was no doctor there to take care of those wounded or to prevent those who were ill or feeble already from being thus tortured.

SOCIAL STATUS OF SOME OF THE VICTIMS

The English did not even respect old age and men over 50 years of age were tortured. Some of these were: Sheikh Moh, Omran, Hag Marii Hussein, Soliman Sabrah. Neither did they respect ministers of religion for they flogged Sheikh Abd El Fattah Marii, one of the Ulemas of the Aghar, Sheikh Moh, Salomon Sabrach, Mazoum and Iman of the Mosque of Ezliet Omran. The students suffered the same indignities and such young men as Sheikh Abdel Samad Baracat, student at the School of Cadis, Bassili Guirguis Eff. student at the Agricultural School of Damanhour, they considered of little account. They also flogged such men as: Sheikh Moh Soliman Mazoum of Kafr and Hagueh, and Abdel Maassoud Keorim, Gafir of the Government. They made no exceptions for the notabilities of the village nor did they treat the prominent merchants any better, and such men as Ghali Guirguis Eff., Naguit Waseef

Eff., Hag Mah Omran and Sheikh Ahmed Omran all suffered the same indignities.

THE STATE OF THE VICTIMS

The medical report and the attached photographs only concern those of the victims who came to lodge a complaint at Cairo. They sufficiently indicate that the blows received were dealt on the back, abdomen, head and face, etc. Those who could not come to Cairo, and they are more numerous (more than 500 men were thus tortured), were, for the greater part, in a very serious condition. We do not know if they are alive, all means of communication having become extremely difficult since the institution of official permits.

PROOFS OF THE INNOCENCE OF THE PEOPLE ACCUSED

The most palpable proof that these people were innocent of the crime imputed to them is disclosed by the fact that the English authorities had had their houses searched a week before and nothing suspicious had been found. Furthermore, on the very day that these incidents occurred, their houses had again been searched and again nothing suspicious had been discovered. Their only crime, therefore, is that they happened to live in villages situated on the east side of the railway station, whereas it is also contended that the shots fired come from the west side of the railway. It should be remembered that this railway runs parallel with two canals, one on either side.

SHOWING THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF THE INHABITANTS KNOWING WHO FIRED

The orders of the British military authorities being that the inhabitants must not leave their houses after 7 o'clock P.M. and also that no inhabitant must approach the railway line, under these conditions it was quite impossible that any of the inhabitants can have committed this act or can have known that it was to have happened, especially since they knew that the punishment for this offense, by the British authorities, would be the burning of the village.

Every one will admit that in the absence of a strict inquiry, summary judgment can only excite just anger and often leads to crime. It is well known that cases of this kind serve to destroy the moral authority of those in responsible positions, as they only prove their incapacity to prevent injustice. The people no longer listen to their counsels and this opens the way to anarchy, especially in a country already very troubled and where the inhabitants are forced to defend themselves. Only the moral authority of the notabilities could have had any effect.

THE INSECURITY OF LIFE

The inhabitants who were thus unjustly punished also assert that the English soldiers told them they would be executed if any such incident should again arise. Who knows, therefore, what to-morrow holds for us, especially as the people no longer consider themselves bound to observe the orders or uphold the military authority.

Many of the inhabitants have emigrated, leaving their homes and abandoning their crops, especially on account of the new order promulgated; that all culture bordering on the railway line is to be pulled up by the roots and destroyed. These poor people can only cry—Pity, Pity! Justice, Justice!

N.B.—Herewith you will find photographs of a few of the inhabitants who were tortured, as well as a medical report by the doctors who examined them. The names of these doctors are: Dr. Eugene Pupier, ex-physician of the French Hospital at Cairo; Dr. Mahomed Maher Bey, Coroner; Magoub Labet Bey, Professor of Legal Medicine at the Egyptian University and expert in the Court of Appeal. This report is signed by the following doctors: Georgis Boulos, Hassan Ammar, Abdel Kader El Sabbahi, Mahomed Tewfik Omran, Mahomed Aboul Magd and Mahomed Baharat.

MEDICAL REPORT

We, the undersigned, Mahgoub Subat Bey, Mahomed Maher Bey, Pupier Eugene, medical doctors, at the request of Mahomed Tewfik Omren and Hassan Ammar, have examined a group

of persons of masculine sex (eighteen in all), their ages varying from 15 to 55 years, who all bear marks of wounds on the body consequent on blows received on April 13th, 1919. These people were examined by us on the 16th and 17th April, 1919.

THE WOUNDS. The wounds noted by us were numerous bruises, welts more or less deep, and some of which were festering. These were caused by blows from whips of leather thongs. These whips were composed of two parts, first one rigid, forming the handle, the other flexible ending in more or less thin and thick thongs.

Other wounds and bruises were noted on the face (orbital region for example). These bruises were inflicted by a heavy or compact object, such as a human fist. Others were delivered on the head and other parts of the body. The leather thongs of the whips used were of cylindrical-conical shape, the flexible part being at least 30 centimeters long. They were, besides, variable in number and were not all of the same length and strength, but the maximum, as to diameter, would be 7 to 8 millimeters. Some of these whips had knots at a distance of 13 to 15 centimeters from the ends of the thongs, others had the thongs split in two towards the end. These knots made elliptical wounds measuring at their largest more than two centimeters.

The number of blows dealt varied from fifteen to twenty-five. The greater number of patients presented stigmates of at least twenty blows. The blows were given on the back, the victims being stripped to the waist. The deeply-cut wounds observed on the lateral part of the body were undoubtedly caused by the varied length of the thongs or the manner in which the whip was handled. It is not improbable that the wounds noted on the anterior part of the bodies are due to direct blows, especially in cases in which the victim tried to defend himself or to escape.

The direction of the blows is also varied. Sometimes they were dealt in an oblong fashion while others are lengthwise. The more numerous are on the back, the shoulders and on the front of the body between the breast and umbilical region. It is highly probable, from the crossing of the wounds, that the same victim was beaten by two soldiers at a time, one from the right and one from the left.

The blows, except in two cases, were delivered vigorously, and the greater number of victims who presented themselves to us had still their wounds raw and bleeding from the cuts left by the knots and very narrow strips of the whips. These last stigmates were especially noticeable on the front of the body and that after four days since they had been inflicted. These marks do not differ in any special from those generally resulting from flagellation. Those on the back will gradually heal, unless suppurative complications should set in, in which case it would take about three weeks to affect a cure and after which the patient would bear more or less indelible marks.

We believe it to be our strict duty to maintain the utmost reserve as to the possible evolution of the blows received in these floggings on the front part of the body, on the region not protected by the sternum, etc., that is, on the lower umbilical-hypochondria-gastro regions, by reason of the possible complications which might ensue.

Signed: Dr. Mahgoub Saber.
Dr. E. Pupier.
Dr. Mahmoud Maher.

ANNEX NO. 12

COPY OF A LETTER SENT FROM THE MOUDIRIEH (PRÉFECTURE) OF GARBIEH, TO THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, ON APRIL 6TH, 1919.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Mamour (Vice-Prefect) of Kafr-El-Sheikh, Abd-el-Kader Effendi Makhtar, has, on April 5th, furnished me with a report concerning the acts committed by the English Military Authorities, which he himself gathered and of which I, herewith, send you copy:

The English Military Authorities arrived at Kaf-el-Sheikh on March 25th last, and without any previous inquiry flogged the inhabitants mercilessly. They obliged the Mayor (Omdeh) of each village to have brought before them a certain number of people, without distinction of class or age, to have them flogged. They also obliged the Mayors and business men of the villages to sign their names to a document acknowledging the Protectorate of England over Egypt.

The Mamour begged us to have those facts brought before the Ministry of the Interior.

To-day we invited the Mamour to the Cabinet of the Moudirieh and after a long discussion he convinced us of the absolute necessity of having his report brought before the Minister.

The Justice of the Peace of Tantah, passing through here, has informed us that the Mamour had also sent him in a report in all respects the same as the one handed in to us and had asked him to have it put before the Minister of Justice. The Mamour also gave us a copy of a letter which he has sent to the Inspector of the Ministry of the Interior, dated March 31st, 1919, and a report drawn up on April 2nd, 1919, dealing with a conversation which he had with Major Gent, Inspector in the Ministry of

the Interior, who is at present working with the English Military authorities.

We are forwarding to your Excellency the three reports abovementioned in compliance with the Mamour's request. We know that he is now at Tantah, by order of the English military authorities, that he is there since the 25th of last March, but we do not know what punishment he is undergoing.